COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE EVOLUTION OF POLICY AND ORGANISATION 1947 - 1970

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I certify that this thesis was composed by myself and is the result of my own work.

4 January 1972 Peter Wass

SUMMARY

This thesis examines the way in which community development as an acknowledged feature of government activity has evolved in one emergent country. It is concerned with the changes in official thinking over several decades, changes by no means always progressive, and with the relationship between thought and action. It discusses the factors that influenced these changes, ranging from the details of an individual's personal role or the effects of fortuitous happenings, through administrative and financial controls, to the constraints imposed by the prevailing conceptual climate. The events in the Botswana example are of course themselves unique, but in so far as they illustrate the processes by which policy has evolved in a country which markedly exhibits most of the classical features of the underdeveloped areas of Africa - the dual economy; overdependence on a single product; political immaturity; rural underemployment and the drift, especially of youth, to towns; inadequate and unsuitable educational provision; traditional practices conflicting with modernisation; and an administrative machine of very uneven quality - it has wider relevance. Notwithstanding the contention of this study that to be fully appreciated community development must be examined in a particular situation rather than in the abstract, the evolution here discussed has much in common with other African countries. Furthermore Botswana's relatively uncomplicated, undiversified economy and polity permit national patterns and trends to be demonstrated without the myriad reservations and exceptions necessary in more advanced African countries, thus giving it added value as a case study.

The Introduction has a three-fold purpose: to explain the method of study chosen; to discuss the meaning of community development and point out some of the obstacles in the way of assigning a precise definition;

and to outline the historical and geographical situation of Botswana.

The main body of the study is divided into three parts. The two chapters comprising Part I are concerned with general context, putting the Botswana case into the perspective of colonial policy and of developments in other African countries. It is shown that although Bechuanaland was following progressive policies in community and adult education in the 1930's, there was a decline of interest in the field in the 1940's.

Part II deals in detail with the post-war growth of government activity in Botswana in relation to social welfare and subsequently community development, paying particular attention to the way ideas took root and developed. Chapter 3 describes the Welfare Department's programme up to 1961, showing the influence first of the British voluntary organisation tradition, and then of South African urban social work. Chapters 4 and 5 are concerned with the reassessment of government's role in social welfare in the early 1960's. They examine in detail the reasoning which led in 1965 to the Social Welfare Department being reorganised as the Community Development Department with a shift of emphasis from urban to village development. Chapter 6 discusses the operation and effects of the World Food Program Community Development Project in 1966-1967. National policy in the second half of the 1960's, concentrating on departmental structure and organisation, is described in Chapter 7.

Part III is concerned with community development and national development. In Chapter 8 the results of a 1968 survey of attitudes to development held by political and civil service leaders are reported and discussed. Chapter 9 contains the conclusions to the thesis.

It is concluded that although Botswana was until independence well out of the African mainstream in terms of community development, as indeed in relation to government administration generally, this is no longer the case. It is shown that community development as a specific function of

public administration in Botswana has made and is making a significant contribution in the sphere of village organisation and institution-building at all levels, as well as in several other ways. It is suggested that many of the ideas which were previously seen as being the rationale of community development in particular have now been subsumed into the national philosophy. Proceeding from this position, it is further suggested that the time is approaching in Botswana, and has probably arrived in most other African countries, when major changes in community development policy and organisation are called for, possibly associated with decisive terminological changes.

PREFACE

The decision to undertake this thesis arose naturally from my work in Botswana during the years 1960–1966. After an initial period as a District Officer I was transferred to the post of Welfare Officer for the territory, and subsequently was responsible for establishing the Department of Community Development.

Dr John Lowe and Professor John Spencer, both of the University of Edinburgh, have given me encouragement and guidance throughout this study, and I am indebted to them for their constructively critical comments. I am also grateful to the Committee of the Centre of African Studies Committee, University of Edinburgh, for the award of a grant from Hayter Funds which permitted me to undertake a research trip to Botswana in 1968. The Office of the President approved my research, and I was given assistance by many departments of the Botswana Government. In particular I would like to thank Mr C.H. Thompson, Government Archivist, for his courteous assistance, and also the Commissioner of Community Development and his staff for their co-operation. My father assisted me in scanning back-numbers of the Botswana Daily News, and my wife likewise helped in scanning archives files: to them both I offer my thanks. My wife further deserves my gratitude for her continual encouragement, and also for uncomplainingly putting up with considerable domestic inconvenience as a result of this study. To Janette Newsway, who expertly typed the thesis in a remarkably short time, I am also most grateful. Finally I wish to thank all those individuals and organisations, too numerous to mention individually, whose assistance contributed to the completion of the task.

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Peter Mass

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EDITORIAL NOTES

References to Government Files may be identified as follows:

BNA	Botswana National Archives
CD	Community Development Headquarters
RR	Relief and Rehabilitation Headquarters

Abbreviated Forms of Journal Titles:

CD Journal	Community Development Journal
CD Newsletter	Community Development Newsletter
Daily News	Botswana Daily News

Other Abbreviations Used in Footnotes:

ACDO	Assistant Community Development Officer
AS	Administrative Secretary
ASWO	Assistant Social Welfare Officer
BP	Bechuanaland Protectorate
CD	Community Development
CDA	Community Development Assistant
CDO	Community Development Officer
CO	Colonial Office
COI	Central Office of Information
CRO	Commonwealth Relations Office
DC	District Commissioner
DE	Director of Education
GS	Government Secretary
HC	High Commissioner
HCT	High Commission Territories
RB	Republic of Botswana
RC	Resident Commissioner
SS	Secretary of State for the Colonies
SWO	Social Welfare Officer
WO	Welfare Officer

Glossary:

bogadi	Cattle given to bride's family
kgotla	A meeting of Chief or Headman and followers, or the enclosure where such meetings take place
matshimo	ploughed lands
meraka	cattle posts
mophato	regiment of men of similar age in a tribe (traditionally, who were initiated together)
tsotsi	juvenile or young adult delinquent

Use of the Root-Word "Tswana":

The reader should note the following variations:

	Botswana	- the country
+	Motswana	- a person
+	Batswana	- persons
	Setswana	- the language
	Tswana	- used as an adjective to describe things appertaining to tribal life

+ These formerly referred strictly to members of Setswana-speaking tribes, but are now used inclusively to denote citizens of Botswana

Spelling of Place Names:

The modern forms "Gaborone" and "Lobatse" are used instead of the respective old forms of "Gaborones" and "Lobatsi", except in the case of publication details which originally used the earlier spelling.

INTRODUCTION

When a community development organisation was established in Bechuanaland in 1965, seventeen years had elapsed since Britain, as a colonial power, had enunciated in some detail her policy for community development in the dependent territories. The impact of this policy, which emphasised community self-help and fundamental mass education as important elements in the progress of colonies towards democratic self-government, became internationally recognised within a remarkably short time, as is reflected by the United Nations' commissioning in 1954 of a special study of community development in British territories.[1] Details of colonial policy and its field implementation were available to the Bechuanaland Protectorate Administration but were not exploited. While most English-speaking African territories were experimenting in the sphere of community development during the late 1940's and the 1950's Bechuanaland's involvement extended no further than the continuation of a rather static welfare activity. It is ironical that in the pursuit of this programme Bechuanaland, one of Britain's least developed colonial possessions, should have been copying similar activities being pursued in Britain itself, notably in the organisation and development of traditional British youth movements. By contrast, in the more advanced African territories welfare activities had become subsumed in community development programmes which drew little, if any, inspiration from the United Kingdom scene.

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1 UN, Methods and Techniques of Community Development in the United Kingdom Dependent and Trust Territories, prepared by S. Milburn (New York, 1954).

One of the focuses of this study is the examination of Bechuanaland's convergence and divergence in the context of the evolution of colonial policy on community education, mass education and community development. This is a main concern of Part I. The fore-runner of community development in Botswana was "welfare" and for this reason Part II begins with a detailed analysis of welfare thinking and activities in the 1940's and 1950's. During the second half of this period and, indeed, until 1963 no effects of the evolving colonial policy on community development nor of the growing United Nations interest in the subject were felt in the Protectorate. Consequently, in relation to this later period, the study ceases to concentrate on the Bechuanaland-colonial policy relationship and instead directs attention to organisation and programmes in the fields of welfare and subsequently community development in the territory, with special reference to the factors contributing to continuity or change.

Parts I and II of the study are largely historical. In Part III, however, a different approach is adopted. Chapter 8 examines the results of a postal survey of attitudes to development issues, and community development in particular, on the part of politicians and other leaders in Botswana which was undertaken in 1968. This survey was based on the belief that the understanding and attitudes of key personnel comprise one of the most important pre-conditions affecting community development and that the kind of data provided by the survey is essential if policy-makers are to make realistic appraisals of the factors governing implementation of community development strategies.

As is explained more fully later in this introduction, the approach to the study does not devolve from an abstract and theoretical concept of community development principles which may be sought here and there in field situations. Rather it is pragmatic, being precipitated

by the fact of the existence of a formal community development programme in Botswana: a programme which today figures prominently in the country's modernisation strategy. The emphasis is thus on the organisation of community development, the thinking implicit in such organisation, and its direct antecedents in post-Second World War welfare work. It is important for the reader to grasp this approach since it explains the rationale for setting boundaries of exploration in the study. Thus activities, methods and techniques practised either by other departments of government or by voluntary agencies, which might from a purely theoretical standpoint be classified as community development, are only included here in so far as they were either employed consciously as community development or related directly to the formal welfare-community development organisation and programme.

It is also important for the reader to be quite clear in his mind that this study is not an evaluation of community development in Botswana in the normal meaning of the term. Inevitably evaluative comments are made, but the study is essentially an analysis of the evolution of ideas and their translation, or lack of it, into action. The basic question to be answered, therefore, is: What is community development in Botswana, what were its origins and why did it evolve in the way it has? Other questions are subsumed thereby. What were the conditions, political, social, economic, geographical and administrative, which affected the pattern of evolution? What disparity was there between policy and action, and why? What has been the place of community development in Botswana's overall governmental function? Do the lessons of the Botswana case make any contribution towards an understanding of the position and role of community development elsewhere?

With such questions in mind we may now turn to the other three tasks of this introduction: an explanation of the methodology of the

study; a discussion of the meaning of community development in the context of national development; and an examination of certain features of Botswana's historical and geographical background necessary for a balanced understanding of the events and arguments presented in the remainder of the thesis.

Methodology of the Study

That a descriptive analysis, piecing together historically the available information, should be the prime task of the present study was initially indicated by the almost total lack of any published material on welfare and community development policy in Botswana, and indeed the general dearth of information about the post-1945 history of the country.[1] The current trend in social science to appear in a "scientific" guise, through greater attention to conceptualisation, the construction and testing of "models", the use of statistical methods and capitalisation upon the latest technological developments in data-processing, have given the historical approach a somewhat outmoded flavour. Nevertheless support for this type of treatment is sound. Long after their work was finished John Madge justified the Webbs' view that the present structure and functions of institutions being studied "could only be comprehended by a full study of the way in which they had grown up."[2] Evans-Pritchard took a similar view, and argued that the division between sociology and history was largely artificial as well as unhelpful.[3] That lack of attention to historical development

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1 It may be noted for example that the United Nations' Special Study on the Economic Conditions of Non-Self-Governing Territories (New York, 1958) found nothing to say about Bechuanaland.
2 John Madge, The Tools of Social Science (London: Longmans, 1953), p.81.
3 E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Anthropology and History (Manchester University Press, 1961), pp.11-18.

often leads to perpetuation of the same mistakes[1] is amply illustrated in the text that follows, and underlines the point that improvements may often be more constructively sought in the elimination of weaknesses in old concepts and theories than in the search for new ones.[2]

Within the general historical approach chosen, the adoption of a suitable model for analysis was nevertheless considered. Unfortunately, the term "model" has been overused and thus rendered imprecise, but in so far as "wider unobservables", to use Cohen's phrase, are observed, the study makes use of implicit models.[3] However, the use of an explicit model, or even models, to embrace the work was rejected. Reader pointed out the problem of "dealing with temporal change in timeless models" and the added difficulty when the changing system cannot be regarded as holistic or "closed". The types of model that he does propose fit community studies rather than national administrative processes.[4] Banton's study did not provide suitable guidelines[5] though it underlined the lack of clarity about models.[6] The artificial significance of data selected in accordance with preconceived models and the dangers of deductive methods of sociology as relating to developing countries have been helpfully discussed by Barrett.[7]

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1 Professor L.J. Lewis, "Adult Education: A Development Viewpoint", Lecture at Edinburgh University, Department of Educational Studies, 25 February 1971.
2 Thus for example, protagonists of the new approach to rural education should be aware that in large measure they are re-phrasing concepts over half a century old, and should examine why previous drives in similar directions failed to be effective.
3 Percy S. Cohen, "Models", British Journal of Sociology, 17, 1966, p.70.
4 D.H. Reader, "Models in Social Change, with Special Reference to Southern Africa", African Studies, 23, 1964, p.11.
5 M. Banton, (ed), Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology, (ASA Monographs: Tavistock Publications, 1965).
6 See Cohen, op.cit., p.73.
7 Stanley R. Barrett, "Model Construction and Modernization in Nigeria", Sociological Review, 17, 2, 1969, p.251.

In this connection, a word about the nature of community development as a field of study is needed. It cannot be accurately described as an academic discipline:[1] its main emphasis is rather on an interdisciplinary field and method of action which draws upon relevant disciplines such as anthropology and sociology and upon various administrative processes such as social work, public administration or agricultural extension. That it can be viewed as a process, a method, a programme, or a movement,[2] as well as its pragmatic approach to problem-solving which has enabled it to adapt itself to changing conditions over the past twenty years,[3] both suggest a treatment that draws upon several disciplines without accepting the "traditionally rigid boundary lines" between them.[4]

Fortunately, thanks to Myrdal's ruthless analysis,[5] the shibboleth of value-free social research has been stripped of its false pretensions. But the question of objectivity remains, admitting no neat solution. Even to state one's value premises before embarking on a study, which Myrdal advocates, is not an easy task as he admits at length. Acknowledging the logicality of using current modernisation ideals as expressed by Third World leaders as value premises,[6] and being in large measure sympathetic to such a set of premises this study cannot accept it in its entirety. Whilst fully accepting the argument for a "green

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1 For a discussion of some problems posed in the relationship of community development to social research, see A.K. Davis, "A Prairie Dust Devil: The Rise and Decline of a Research Institute", Human Organisation, 27, 1, 1968, p.56.
2 I.T. Sanders, "Theories of Community Development", Rural Sociology, 23, 1, 1958, pp.1-12.
3 UN, Popular Participation in Development: Emerging Trends in Community Development (New York, 1971), p.2.
4 Gunnar Myrdal, Objectivity in Social Research (London: Duckworth, 1970), p.10.
5 Ibid.
6 Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama (London: Allen Lane, 1968), pp.54-67.

revolution"[1] as a global strategy of great urgency and the interventionist policies by governments in terms of social, economic and political changes that this involves, the writer is very conscious that in any given situation and in the eyes of local people these changes may bring more discomfort than satisfaction, and little perceivable advantage. Consequently, although for the most part the stand-point of the study is, as it were, that of the needs of government administration at the national level, the view is taken that modernisation per se is not necessarily desirable, that in any given circumstance there is no right policy but probably several variations of a generally progressive course, and that the method of implementing change ranks in importance with the change itself. An added reason for qualifying the acceptance of modernisation ideals as value premises is that they are anachronistic in relation to Botswana's development until well into the 1960's: the first political party was not formed until 1961 and nation-building as a philosophy did not become important until 1966. In so far, therefore, that "hindsight" valuations are used, and it is inevitable that they are in such a study, it is hoped that the context of discussion will demonstrate that they are being used consciously.

Within the ambit of these observations certain value premises may be stated: that evolutionary change is generally preferable to revolution; that people should be allowed as far as possible to make and implement their own decisions, but that it is the prerogative and indeed the duty of government to define the boundaries of this decision-making; that wherever possible governments should use educational means

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1 See Stanley Johnson, "Green Revolution Gives World a Breathing Space", The Times, Special Report on Nations in Need, 14 September 1971, p.6.

to facilitate the decision-making process; that the welfare of the individual is not always compatible with that of the community and that in such cases the latter must take precedence; and that by and large co-operation is preferable to conflict.

Community Development and National Development

In the attempt to put community development into perspective some help is obtained by making a comparison with adult education, a field with which it shares common roots. Their inter-relationship is very close,[1] particularly so in developing countries, generating such controversies as whether adult education is part of community development or *vice versa*, queries which show little sign of being resolved conceptually at present[2] and which are largely fruitless. Clarification is however found through a pragmatically observed distinction. A recent study has pointed out that in the past the interpretation of adult education has tended to be narrow, often limited to an agency such as a University Extra-Mural Department which plays a comparatively minor role in the total educational provision of the country.[3] It is only now that some countries - Kenya is an early example - are establishing central organisations with a wide-ranging remit and responsibility for adult education in relation to development. The post-war story of community development however presents a contrasting picture.

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1 See, for example, William and Loureide Biddle, *The Community Development Process* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), Chapter 15, "Relation to Education", pp.243-258, and T. Lovett, "Community Adult Education", *Studies in Adult Education*, 3, 1, 1971, pp.2-14.

2 Much of the content of, for example, J. Lowe, ed., *Adult Education and Nation Building* (Edinburgh University Press, 1970), could be described as community development.

3 R.C. Prosser, "The Development and Organisation of Adult Education in Kenya with Special Reference to African Rural Development 1945-1970" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1971), pp.10-11.

It has been given a very wide interpretation; sometimes so wide as to be almost indistinguishable from local development on the one hand or nation-building on the other.[1] Furthermore, in many African and Asian countries the main focus of community development is found in a central government organisation with a national programme and a degree of inter-sectoral responsibility. In the early 1950's seven countries had such national programmes, a figure which had risen rapidly to over thirty by the end of the decade.[2] More countries were added to the list in the 1960's, including Botswana.

Despite this substantial field activity, there is little enough evidence of progress towards consensus internationally on the precise definition of principles, methodology or relationships with other fields of action, notwithstanding the rallying cries of ardent protagonists.[3] This is only a drawback in terms of the importance that may be attached to the need for such conceptualisation. This thesis has a different standpoint, strongly supporting the contention that

> community development must, by its very nature, be related to the specific environment in which it operates. It does not lend to precise formulae applicable to widely differing socio-economic, cultural and political settings.[4]

The view is taken that these differences, especially as they exist between industrialised areas and underdeveloped areas, will usually exert a powerful influence over the content of community development

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1 The penalties of popular use of the term community development have been discussed in William W. Biddle and Arthur Dunham, Currents in Community Development (University of Missouri, 1964).
2 UN, Community Development and National Development (New York, 1963), p.3.
3 See, for example, Peter du Sautoy, "Community Development in Britain", CD Journal, 1, 1, 1966, pp.54-56.
4 UN (1963), op.cit., p.4.

activities. In arguments about "process" or "programme" it is often insufficiently appreciated how much the programme content can affect the process: to the extent that a difference of degree becomes one of kind and the use of the term community development to cover both extremes ceases to be helpful. This was pointed out, at least in part, as long ago as 1955,[1] and the events of the ensuing years notwithstanding, the criticism still applies today. An outspoken though often perceptive commentator has more recently put this clearly:

> Community development in any nation will reflect the country's ethos. There has been a tendency in the past to see community development as a universal process involving "co-ordination of effort" and "self-help". If the community development process over the past 20 years has demonstrated anything it is that such abstract terms only become concrete realities within a specific framework of operational limitations and possibilities.[2]

The same writer has stated even more boldly that he has "come to the reluctant conclusion that there is no such thing as community development. There are, however, community developers...."[3]

It is not proposed therefore to enter the confused controversy surrounding the definition and multifarious concepts of community development. Such conceptual issues as may emerge will do so from the analysis of the Botswana situation and its colonial background. As a general guide to the reader, the United Nations definition, first stated in the mid-1950's but still considered valid today,[4] is as useful as any:

> The term community development has come into international usage to connote the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of government

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1 Murray G. Ross, Community Organisation (New York: Harper and Row, 1955), pp.3-38.
2 Jim Lotz, "Whither Community Development in Canada?", CD Journal, 4, 2, 1969, p.62.
3 Jim Lotz, "An Experimental Training Programme for Community Developers in Canada", (Unpublished paper, 1969), p.3.
4 UN (1971), op.cit., p.2.

> authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.
>
> This complex of processes is then made up of two essential elements: the participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help and make these more effective. It is expressed in programmes designed to achieve a wide variety of specific improvements.[1]

However, to give an idea of the complexities involved in the conceptualisation of community development, some of the paradoxes hidden in this definition, as well as some of the problems it fails to encompass, may be mentioned. Of these probably the most far-reaching is the distinction which must be drawn between politically sophisticated and affluant urbanised industrialised societies, and relatively simply undiversified rural societies; a distinction seen at its most marked between developed and underdeveloped countries,[2] though nevertheless evident within even such countries as Britain.[3] The continuum as it affects the content and main emphasis of community development can be expressed diagrammatically, as in Figure 1.

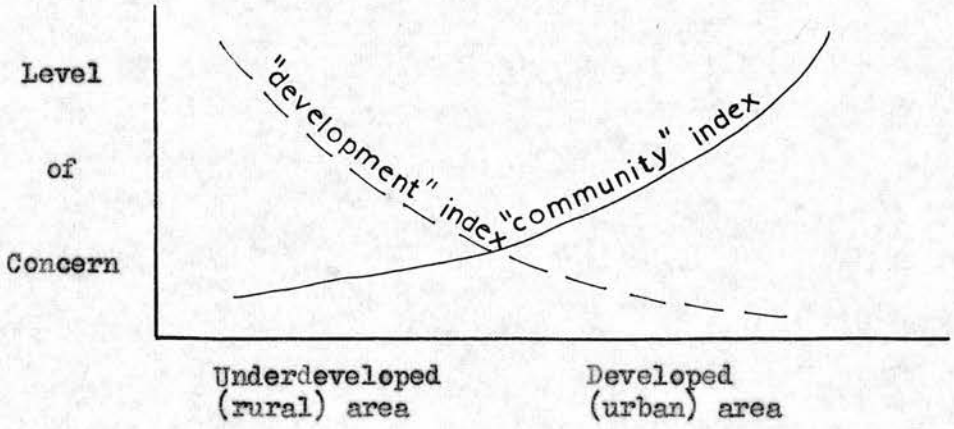

Figure 1: Diagram of emphases in community development

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1 Official Records of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, 24th Session, Annexes, Agenda item 4 (document E/2931, annex III).
2 There seems no valid reason why this term should be avoided for reasons of "terminological diplomacy". See Myrdal (1968), op.cit., p.16.
3 See P. Wass, "Community Development: A Cure-All?", Social Service Quarterly, 43, 2, 1969, p.56.

The high level of concern with "community" in advanced countries, either as a sociological unit or a conceptual entity, is illustrated in writings on urban sociology,[1] professional and official interest,[2] and general public debate through the press, radio and television. In developing countries, communities are by and large taken for granted, certainly in the rural areas, and the main concern is to involve them practically in national development. Another way of presenting the polarities represented in the diagram is to point to the development of economic infrastructure which figures prominently in community development in underdeveloped areas, as distinguishable from the social and political relationships which are commonly emphasised in urbanised developed areas. This schema is more flexible than the view expressed by several governments in 1957 that the application of the community development approach was limited to less-developed countries,[3] and takes into account the recent growth of urban community development. The polarities, however, remain clearly marked, emphasising that although conceptual ideas may be similar, practice and application may be highly divergent. This can be demonstrated by reference to the situation of community development in Botswana today, which despite its origins in British social welfare, has far more in common with communal

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1 See, for example, R. König, The Community (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), N. Anderson, The Urban Community (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), R.E. Pahl, Readings in Urban Sociology (Oxford: Pergamon, 1968), P.H. Mann, An Approach to Urban Sociology (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).

2 In Britain, for example, see the following reports: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Community Work and Social Change (London: Longman, 1968), Scottish Education Department, Community of Interests (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1968), Scottish Home and Health Department, Social Work and the Community (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1966), Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Public Participation in Planning (London: HMSO, 1969), Department of Education and Science, Youth and Community Work in the 70's (London: HMSO, 1969).

3 UN, Report of the Economic and Social Council (E/CN 5/325, 1957), Annex I, p.2.

rural development in Mao's China[1] than it does with the government-sponsored Community Development Projects in deprived urban areas in Britain.

Deeper differences between that group of countries loosely described as the "western democracies" and many developing countries, especially in Africa, concern questions of strategy and the role of government. In the former group, community development has been largely pioneered and developed by voluntary, usually local, agencies with or without support from government. In the early stages this was exemplified by the creation of local community associations or Councils of Service in Britain and by Community Councils in the USA where this experience was instrumental in the evolution of a body of expertise known as community organisation. Elements of concern were voluntary group involvement and organisation to achieve local improvements, usually in the social rather than the economic sphere. A common assumption, still widespread, was that this function was not the responsibility of government but rather the local and practical manifestation of a responsible democratic society.

Although community development as encouraged in African countries by colonial governments emphasised some of these features, the trend in developing countries over the past fifteen years has been towards greater government control and direction, and concentration on integrating community development with national development strategies, which in practice, if not always in statement, has meant increased attention to its economic contribution. The key phrase in community development in the last decade has been "nation-building".

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1 Which of course does not boast the label "community development".

Western observers of developing countries have too often failed to appreciate that such differences stem from fundamentally different approaches to society, and have been unaware that their own concepts, theories and structures are biassed by their western origins and hence are often invalid as applied to developing countries.[1] A classic example of such insensitive bias is afforded by the condemnatory judgment of community development by Erasmus,[2] which is based (though not admittedly) on the valuations of North American society such as the operation of a free economy and the desirability of encouraging the individual entrepreneur: valuations which are in large measure irrelevant to developing countries.

The polarities implicit in these distinctions are further explained by the introduction of the terms conflict and consensus. In the rich western countries, an increasing sense of disillusion with traditional community organisation techniques as a means of combating social and economic inequalities has led to more militant social action, concerned not only with achieving visible change but more fundamentally with the transfer of power to underprivileged or under-represented groups. The initiative comes from such groups, their leaders and protagonists, and the target of reform is more often than not some feature of the "establishment", such as the policies of a business or a municipal authority. Hence the conflict model.

In most African countries as well as many Asian countries a consensus model still reigns. The government takes the lead in identifying

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1 See Myrdal (1968), op.cit., Preface, for a fuller discussion of this point. Barrett, op.cit., pp.252-256 also argues cogently that the "western" sociological model of economic development has led to faulty analyses of emerging nations.

2 C.J. Erasmus, "Community Development and the Encogido Syndrome", Human Organisation, 27, 1, 1968, p.65.

the social and economic reforms needed to bring about equality and national development. Modernisation ideals[1] as expressed by elites require that community development is heavily engaged with changing people's attitudes and behaviour in such a way that they are linked more constructively and productively to the nation-building dynamic. The awareness that local mutual help and co-operation has severe limits, which in western countries is precipitating confrontation tactics, has led to increased efforts to integrate community development strategy with necessary planning decisions and social and economic reforms at district, regional and national levels.

Although these briefly described models only represent ideal types, they do reinforce the basic standpoint of this thesis that the nature of community development is often determined more by the specific conditions of individual countries, and in developing countries by government policy in particular, than by theoretical concepts or professional techniques. It is, in short, "culturally oriented",[2] and in the case of developing countries inextricably associated with "third world ideology", suspicious of western development, drawing selectively upon socialist philosophy, with emphasis on national unity and direction.

Apart from such major divergences in interpretation, even within the confines of a given situation internal dilemmas and ambiguities remain. Ambivalence, it would appear, is endemic to community development. Its economic dimension emphasises participation in national

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1 See Myrdal (1968), op.cit., pp.56-64.

2 See G.M. Foster, Traditional Cultures and the Impact of Technological Change (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), pp.183-186, for an analysis of the cultural overtones of American concepts of community development and their irrelevance and unsuitability in many of the countries in which the US Agency for International Development personnel have been working.

development which in practice means changing people's attitudes and ways of living so that they are more productive: a good deal of manipulation and persuasion is usually evident here, necessarily so it may be argued. On the other hand, community development has strong anthropological links which emphasise people's existing social systems, customs, value systems, ways of life, and the need to "cushion the effects" of technological or other change.[1] This is part of general ambivalence regarding traditional culture which is widespread in Africa:[2] the lack of consistency between emphasis on an African heritage, essentially based on relatively static linguistic, ethnic and tribal forms, and modernisation aims based on rapid change and a national unit. Indeed, community development policies may even seem to be deliberately creating their own problems. In India, for example, the aim of the programme was to change "the outlook of agriculturalists, the problem being the development of the desire for a higher standard of living."[3] Yet "rising expectations" are now seen as one of the major problems facing governments of developing countries.[4]

Community development is ambiguous in many other ways. For example, should it seek to strengthen its social work relationships or those of development planning? It declares its support for local decision-making and decentralisation, yet in order to demonstrate its relevance to national development its direction has tended to be increasingly determined centrally. How far is its aim to raise living standards

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1 See UN (1963) op.cit., p.3. For general treatments of the topic see Foster, op.cit., and Margaret Mead, ed., Cultural Patterns and Technical Change (New York: Mentor Books, 1954).
2 D. Brokensha, Comments on an article by C.J. Erasmus, Human Organisation, 27, 1, 1968, p.77.
3 C. Taylor, et.al., India's Roots of Democracy (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1965), p.169.
4 See Barbara Ward, The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962).

compatible with its concern to foster local democratic processes?[1] How far should it be educational and how far organisational? Traditionally evolutionary in method, to what extent can it encompass revolutionary methods?

These comments, though sometimes used as grounds for criticising the lack of clarity and precision in community development, are here intended only as observations. Indeed, it is largely because community development has been sensitive to the inherent value conflict in all processes involving change that it is beset by internal inconsistency and ambivalence. Whereas an agricultural agency, for example, strives to raise levels of production through new farming techniques, a community development agency asks what reorganisation in family patterns this development will involve, what new problems will have to be faced by the people concerned, and whether the views of these people have been allowed to influence the "expert" judgments of the agriculturalists. With such an awareness of the complexities of development, knowing that what may appear desirable from an economic and national standpoint may appear in a very different light to the individuals affected, community development policy, as with social policy in general, is bound to be couched in vaguer terms than a straightforward extension policy.

The above discussion is enough to indicate the far-ranging conceptual issues which arise in community development, and to suggest why attempts at precise definition in universal terms are likely to be less constructive than the examination of its interpretation at a given time and place. In order to do the latter, which is the aim of the present study, some understanding of the historical and geographical situation of Botswana is a prerequisite.

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1 Myrdal (1968), op.cit., p.65, note 2, has observed that "few things in the outcome of this study [Asian Drama] have been more disturbing to him...than the conclusion that political democracy is not a necessary element in the modernisation ideals".

The Botswana Background

The creation of the independent Republic of Botswana from the former Bechuanaland Protectorate on 30 September 1966, heralded with the pomp and ceremony which had by that time become almost traditional on such occasions,[1] has been discussed in unflattering terms:

> there is a striking difference between the meticulous care with which decolonization was executed in Ghana and Nigeria, and the almost unseemly haste with which Lesotho and Botswana were bundled out the door.[2]

This graphic metaphor, which reflects unfavourably upon the colonial power and not upon Botswana, achieves its full significance in the context of the history of Britain's long association with the territory rather than in relation to specific administrative shortcomings in the few years immediately prior to independence. Over thirty years ago it was pointed out that the character of the territory was so much a product of its history that it would not be understood without some knowledge of that history,[3] and the claim is no less applicable to the developments which are discussed in this study. The High Commission Territories "were from the first regarded [by Britain] in a different light from the colonial dependencies in Central, East, and West Africa".[4] The reason for this was that Britain understood that these territories would eventually become part of an enlarged South Africa, a factor which has been the most important single influence on the progress of Bechuanaland.

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1 Botswana came at the end of "the independence queue". Of former British territories in Africa (discounting the special case of Rhodesia), only the other two High Commission Territories of Basutoland, which became Lesotho a few days later, and Swaziland remained dependent.

2 Crawford Young, "Decolonization in Africa", in The History and Politics of Colonialism, 1914-1960, Vol.III of Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960, edited by L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan (Cambridge University Press, 1970), p.489.

3 Margaret Hodgson and W.G. Ballinger, Bechuanaland Protectorate (Lovedale Press, 1932), p.19.

4 Lord Hailey, An African Survey (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p.271.

Two of the best known dates in Botswana's history, in addition to 1966, are 1885 and 1895. The former year marks the proclamation of British protection over large though imprecisely defined tracts of what is now Botswana; the latter the confirmation of this rather tenuous and, on Britain's part, unwilling protection as a result of the determined efforts of three Batswana Chiefs. Linked as they are with the final attainment of independence in a much closer way than might at first sight appear, and setting the general pattern of the British Government's involvement during most of the Protectorate's subsequent history, an involvement in which the phrase "bundled out the door" has a familiar ring, the events of this period hold profound strategic importance.[1]

There is no doubt that in declaring a protectorate in 1885, Britain was being forced by circumstances. Less than ten years previously the Colonial Office had ignored a request for protection by Kgama III of the Ngwato, but the continued incursions of the Boers from the Transvaal and the threat of the Germans to the west[2] meant that if British influence was not to be eclipsed, some positive action would have to be taken. Although the arguments against expansion, especially in respect of expense, still seemed very strong,[3] the decision to extend protection was reluctantly taken "under international and Colonial pressures on a basis of minimal responsibility".[4] The basic reason for such a negative approach was straightforward: "Bechuanaland was a vast, barren expanse which no one coveted".[5]

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1 For a detailed and fascinating treatment see A. Sillery's Founding a Protectorate (The Hague: Mouton, 1965), and for a general history of the territory his The Bechuanaland Protectorate (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp.1-96.
2 In the area now known as South-West Africa.
3 Hodgson and Ballinger, op.cit., p.21.
4 Sillery (1965), op.cit., p.235.
5 W.M. MacMillan, The Road to Self-Rule (Faber, 1959), p.169.

Britain was only interested in keeping open a trade road to the interior (Rhodesia), and had no intention of being committed to an administrative and financial burden. The way appeared to be open to meet both requirements. Administrative responsibility for the area south of the Molopo river,[1] known as British Bechuanaland, was vested in the Government of the Cape Colony, and Britain was soon engaged in making provision to transfer the Protectorate north of the river to the British South Africa Company. Thoroughly alarmed at this prospect, Chiefs Kgama of the Ngwato, Sebele of the Kwena, and Bathoen of the Ngwaketse made their historic journey to London to protest, and to secure the continued protection of Her Majesty's Government. The result, despite initial resistance by the Colonial Office, was a triumph for the chiefs and laid the foundations of the Protectorate.[2] The significance of their victory is immense: one has to look no further than South Africa or Rhodesia to realise how disastrous for the Batswana and their descendants the alternative decision would have been. Exploitation and almost certain domination of the Batswana by Europeans was thus largely avoided, though by the same token, the opportunity of major economic development of the area was lost. The only agency which could have encouraged development at the same time as safeguarding the interests of the inhabitants, namely the British Government, was not prepared to do so:

> The Bechuanaland Protectorate then, was an unwelcome child in the British family and the hope of its adoption by somebody else, which has been continuously entertained by Britain, has been one of the most important factors in its history. It has exercised a great, if not the greatest, influence on the character of the territory and on the form of its administration.[3]

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1 Now the southern boundary of Botswana.
2 Sillery (1952), op.cit., p.71.
3 Hodgson and Ballinger, op.cit., p.22.

From 1910 onwards that "somebody else" was the Union of South Africa[1] and that such adoption remained a real possibility until well into the 1950's[2] explains, and is evidence of, the remarkable continuation of the UK Government's inherent attitude of "minimal responsibility".[3]

The constitutional position likewise reflected the relationship with South Africa. In 1891 the Governor of the Cape Colony, in his capacity as Britain's High Commissioner, was entrusted with the power of administering the Bechuanaland Protectorate, a responsibility which from the Act of Union[4] in 1910 until 1931 was held by the Governor-General of South Africa subsequently passing to the UK High Commissioner[5] in South Africa who thus combined the two distinct functions of being at one and the same time a diplomatic representative and a colonial governor. This anomalous arrangement, which was finally ended in October 1963,[6] had "potentially grave disadvanrages":[7] the remoteness

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1 Provision for eventual inclusion of the Bechuanaland Protectorate was made in the schedule to the Act of Union. See Figure 2 (p.22) for the location of Botswana in relation to South Africa.

2 The Batswana were extremely fearful of the prospect, especially in the latter years when South Africa's policy of apartheid was becoming harder. See Fenner Brockway, British Protectorates: Key to South Africa Freedom (London: Union of Democratic Control, 1957), pp.6-8. A summary of the transfer negotiations can be found in Lord Hailey (1957) op.cit., pp.175-182. Almost unbelievably it seems today, the question was raised in direct fashion as late as 1963, when a motion proposing transfer to the protection of South Africa was put to the Legislative Council by a white member. Legislative Council Official Report: Hansard 9, Third Session, First Meeting, 18-26 November 1963, pp.109-123.

3 J.E. Spence, however, in "British Policy Towards the High Commission Territories", Journal of Modern African Studies, 2, 2, 1964, pp.241-246, suggests that there is a danger of exaggerating the failure to develop the territories.

4 Lord Hailey (1957), op.cit., p.271.

5 When South Africa left the Commonwealth in 1961, the High Commission Territories responsibility duly passed to the British Ambassador to South Africa.

6 When the Resident Commissioner for Bechuanaland was appointed Her Majesty's Commissioner, a post carrying "the status of a Governor". BP Annual Report 1963, p.5.

7 L.B. Greaves, The High Commission Territories (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1954), p.10.

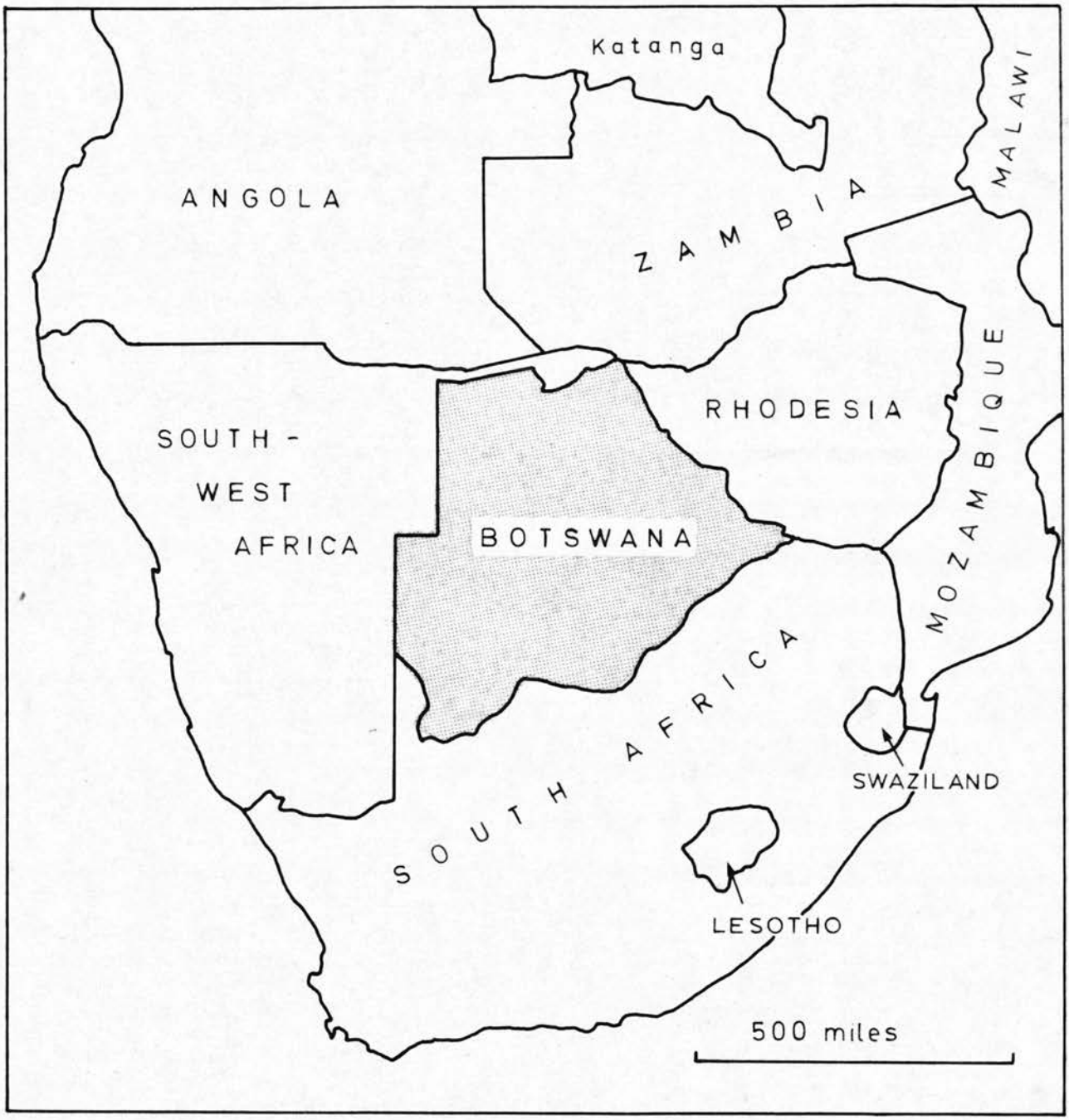

Figure 2. Location of Botswana in Southern Africa

of the High Commissioner from the people of the territories; the differing and increasingly divergent needs of the two functions; and the constraints upon the pursuit of a vigorous colonial policy independent of the need to maintain sweet relations with South Africa. The reality of these issues was well illustrated in the suspension of Seretse Khama from the chieftainship of the Ngwato and his banishment from Bechuanaland for five years. No less an authority than Margery Perham took the view that the real reasons behind the Labour Government's decision was the "potential threat to our relations with the present Union Government". It was time, she concluded, that Britain should make clear its "hitherto silent disagreement with the Union Government upon the fundamentals of African policy".[1]

In London the arrangements were equally unsuitable for efficient colonial administration. From 1925 to 1961 Bechuanaland was the responsibility of the Dominions Office and its successor the Commonwealth Relations Office (CRO), an agency almost exclusively involved in the regulation of diplomatic relations with self-governing dominions. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that the arrangement was associated with the absence of a firm commitment to treat the territory as a colony which would become self-governing and finally independent,[2] and as such must count as one of the reasons for lack of development. By the time that the High Commission Territories were belatedly trans-

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1 Margery Perham, Letter to The Times, 18 March 1950, in her book Colonial Sequence 1949-1969 (London: Methuen, 1970), pp.17-19.

2 One personal example may be cited to indicate both the complacency in the CRO as well as its insensitivity to African political development. When the writer, before joining the Bechuanaland Administration as a young District Officer in 1960, asked an official of the Southern Africa department in the CRO how long in his estimation it would be before Bechuanaland became independent, he was assured it would be after he (the writer) had enjoyed a "full career" there - some 25 years!

ferred to the Colonial Office in December 1961,[1] decolonization in Africa was well under way: four countries were already independent,[2] and the Colonial Office was heavily involved in "winding up" operations.

It is hardly surprising that political development in the Protectorate was retarded. When constitutional changes came, however, it was with a rush. As late as 1957 no specific declaration of a move towards self-rule had been made in regard to the High Commission Territories.[3] Seventy years of government by High Commissioner's Proclamation came to an end in June 1961 with the inauguration of a Legislative Council, though it was by no means representative.[4] In 1965 internal self-government was introduced, based for the first time on universal adult suffrage, and eighteen months later the country became independent. It seems hardly believable that a mere six years earlier the system of administration was still being described as "indirect rule",[5] the system of colonial administration developed by Lord Lugard half a century before. In the early years of African colonial administration much emphasis had been placed on tribal organisation and native authorities, though "experience has shown that they now have only a limited value as agencies of development."[6] In Bechuanaland, not only did this realisation come extremely late, but

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1 See Commonwealth Relations Office Year Book 1966 (London: HMSO, 1966), pp.173-175 for a brief history of the administrative arrangements for Imperial, Colonial and Commonwealth affairs.
2 Ghana, March 1957; Nigeria, October 1960; Sierra Leone, April 1961; Tanganyika, December 1961.
3 Hailey (1957), op.cit., p.274.
4 It was composed of 15 appointed officials, 10 Africans elected indirectly, 10 Europeans elected directly (by 1% of the population), and one Asian. BP Annual Report 1961-62, p.91.
5 BP Annual Report 1960, p.92.
6 Hailey (1957), op.cit., p.206. Hailey gives a good synopsis of the guiding principles of indirect rule on pp.414-415 and 451-453.

also the system of "parallel rule" practised, characterised as it was by "maximum regard for the customary authority of the Chiefs with minimum intervention by the Administration",[1] made a travesty of Lugard's famous principles which involved progress and development. No doubt one of the reasons that this realisation came so late in Bechuanaland was that the Batswana tribes were such highly organised political and administrative units. Referring to the operation of the Ngwato kgotla in the late 1920's, and noting the keen awareness there of the world forces conditioning Ngwato life, an observer who had ample experience on which to base his judgments linked the Tswana with the Baganda as examples of advanced African societies.[2] The attitude of the Administration towards the training and advancement of Africans in the civil service, undoubtedly heavily influenced by the policies and attitudes in South Africa,[3] reflected the general situation. Up to 1961 "Even such junior jobs as typists, registry clerks, accounting machine operators, postal clerks, were filled by expatriates."[4]

This historical summary, which reads rather sadly as far as Britain's part is concerned, should not be construed as a general criticism of Britain merely because she was the colonial power. Rather to the contrary. Had Britain tackled the administration of Bechuanaland with the vigour, energy and imagination which she applied elsewhere,[5] the country would have been far better developed at the time of independence.

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1 Ibid., p.272.
2 Victor Murray, the School in the Bush (London: Frank Cass, 1938), p.289.
3 The Protectorate's capital was in Mafeking in the Cape Province until 1964, and there was a high proportion of white South Africans in the civil service.
4 Report on Localisation and Training by T.C. Luke (Gaberones, 1966), p.11.
5 For a very readable account in which these qualities are well portrayed, see Sir Hugh Foot's A Start in Freedom (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964).

However, it must be added that it is because there was so little exploitation of the inhabitants and their country by expatriates in comparison with other African territories such as Kenya or Zambia that relationships between races are better than they might otherwise have been, and indeed society in general is correspondingly less divided. The importance of this for future nation-building should not be underestimated.

The main reason for official lack of interest in Bechuanaland has already been hinted at: quite simple, the territory had little to offer. Less than ten years ago, it was summarily described as "an enormous non-nodal region well-nigh untouched by any agricultural, industrial or urban revolution, and having the least promise of any region in Africa".[1] If a geographer and an economist, who admittedly should have been more sensitive, could make such a judgment, it is small wonder that even today Botswana is still popularly imagined as a vast, flat, almost featureless and uninteresting country, clothed with dry scrub vegetation and sparsely inhabited by traditional cattle herders. To the extent that large tracts of the country might be described in such terms, the image has some validity. But it takes no account of the intrinsic interest of the people themselves, nor of the many variations and even contrasts contained within Botswana's 220,000 square miles.[2] The broad natural regional divisions are illustrated simply though usefully in Figure 3 (p.27).

Most of the country has no permanent surface water. The perennial stream and rivers in Eastern Botswana flow for only a few days a year,

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1 L.P. Green and T.J. Fair, Development in Africa (Witwatersrand University, 1962), p.180.
2 Approximately the same size as Kenya or France.

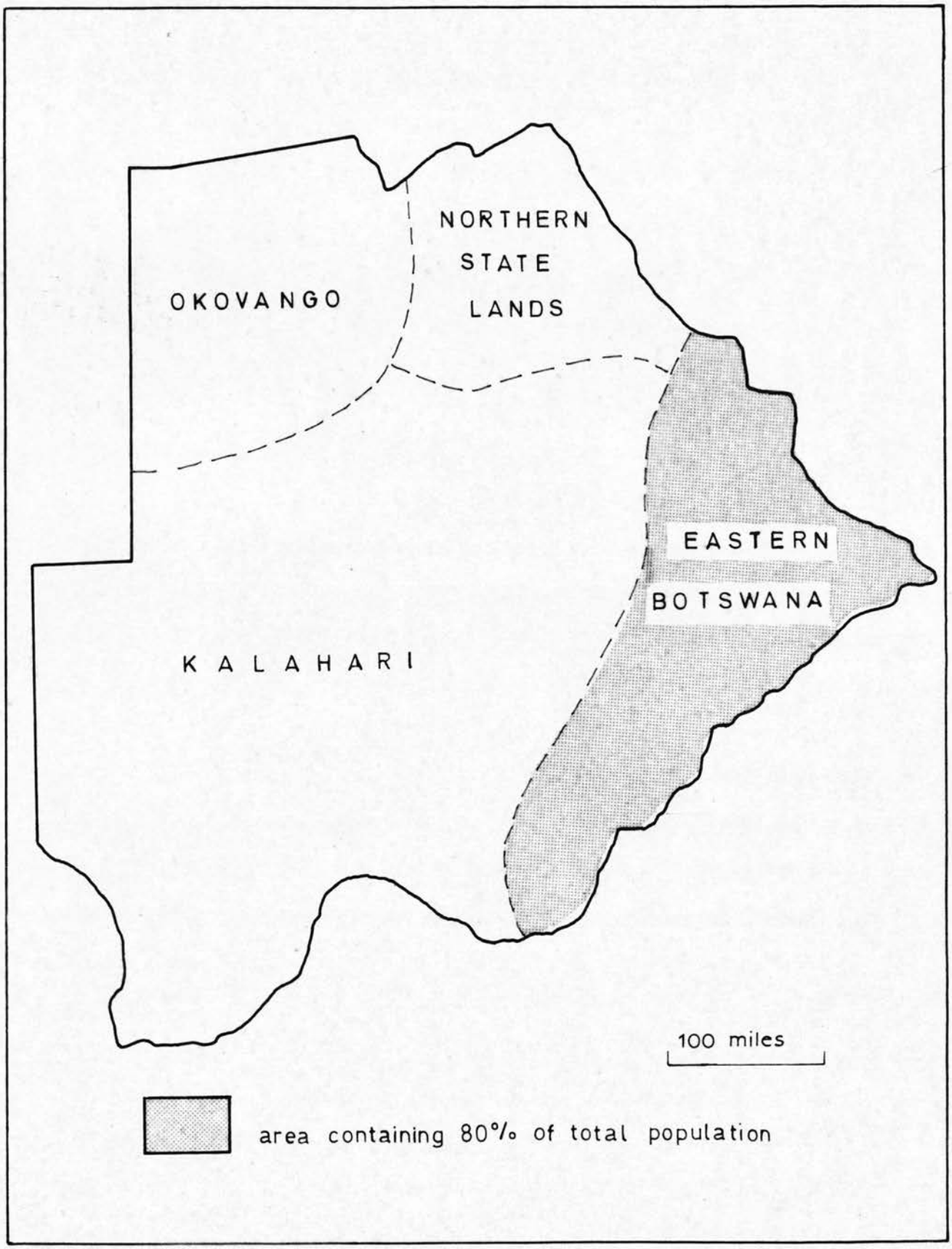

Figure 3. Natural Divisions of Botswana

and elsewhere there is not even perennial flow. The Okovango Swamps, the triangular delta of the Okovango River some 100 miles across, thus provide an extreme contrast made ironical by its proximity to the desert and the inability of man to distribute this water to parts of the country where it is needed.[1] The Kalahari Desert and the Northern State Lands are virtually uninhabited. In the former there are a few small clusters of settlement, but otherwise this flat waterless savannah and woodland is occupied only by migratory herds of wild game - gemsbok, eland, springbok, giraffe - and "wild" Bushmen. The Northern State Lands contain valuable stands of forest as well as underground water and represent an area of potential development. The climate and proximity of its underground water table make Eastern Botswana ideally suited for cattle ranching. Containing most of the best agricultural land, the only railway and the main trunk road, it is inevitably the most densely settled region having no less than 80% of the total population.

If a single adjective were used to describe Botswana, it would be "dry", which is reflected in the national motto "pula" ("rain"). Average annual rainfall ranges from 27 inches in the far north by the Chobe and Zambesi Rivers to 9 inches in the Southern Kalahari. By the standards of Middle East or Saharan areas this may not be considered low, but the dryness has to be understood in relation to the people's way of life. Unlike the Bedouins of Arabia, or the Masai or Turkana of East Africa, the Batswana are no longer nomadic. One of the problems they have unwittingly created for themselves however, the denudation

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1 This idea has excited imagination for years, and many schemes have been proposed. It seems likely that in the not too distant future some new schemes will be implemented.

of the veld through over-grazing, has been caused by herding habits which are not compatible with a settled existence. Water for cattle, which in the past was obtained from wells but today from increasingly deeper boreholes, presents a constant problem. In addition to keeping livestock, his main interest and source of income, the Motswana also grows crops, mostly sorghum, maize and beans, for his own subsistence needs. This agricultural activity is precariously balanced each year depending upon the timing and amount of the rainfall, though modern techniques in dry-land farming are proving effective where practised.

The 1970 population of Botswana was estimated at 650,000, giving an average density of just under three persons per square mile.[1] There are only three towns, Lobatse, Gaborone and Francistown, which contain a mere 4% of the population. About 85% live in tribal territories owned by the tribe itself and it is these areas which provide the typical picture of life in Botswana. Although minority groups do exist, some of them disgruntled, in theory and largely in practice the inhabitants of each of the eight tribal territories have long owed allegiance to the Chief of the dominant Tswana tribe. The cohesion and stability of these tribal units have provided a meaningful framework for the current pattern of local administration divisions. See Figures 4 and 5 (pp. 30 and 31).

Inter-tribal rivalry, though not entirely non-existent, is mild. Amongst the eight main tribes, who share common ethnic origins, the cultural differences are not pronounced. Setswana is the first language of some three-quarters of the population and is understood almost

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1 Comparative density figures are Zambia 12, South Africa 34, Swaziland 40, Lesotho 58.

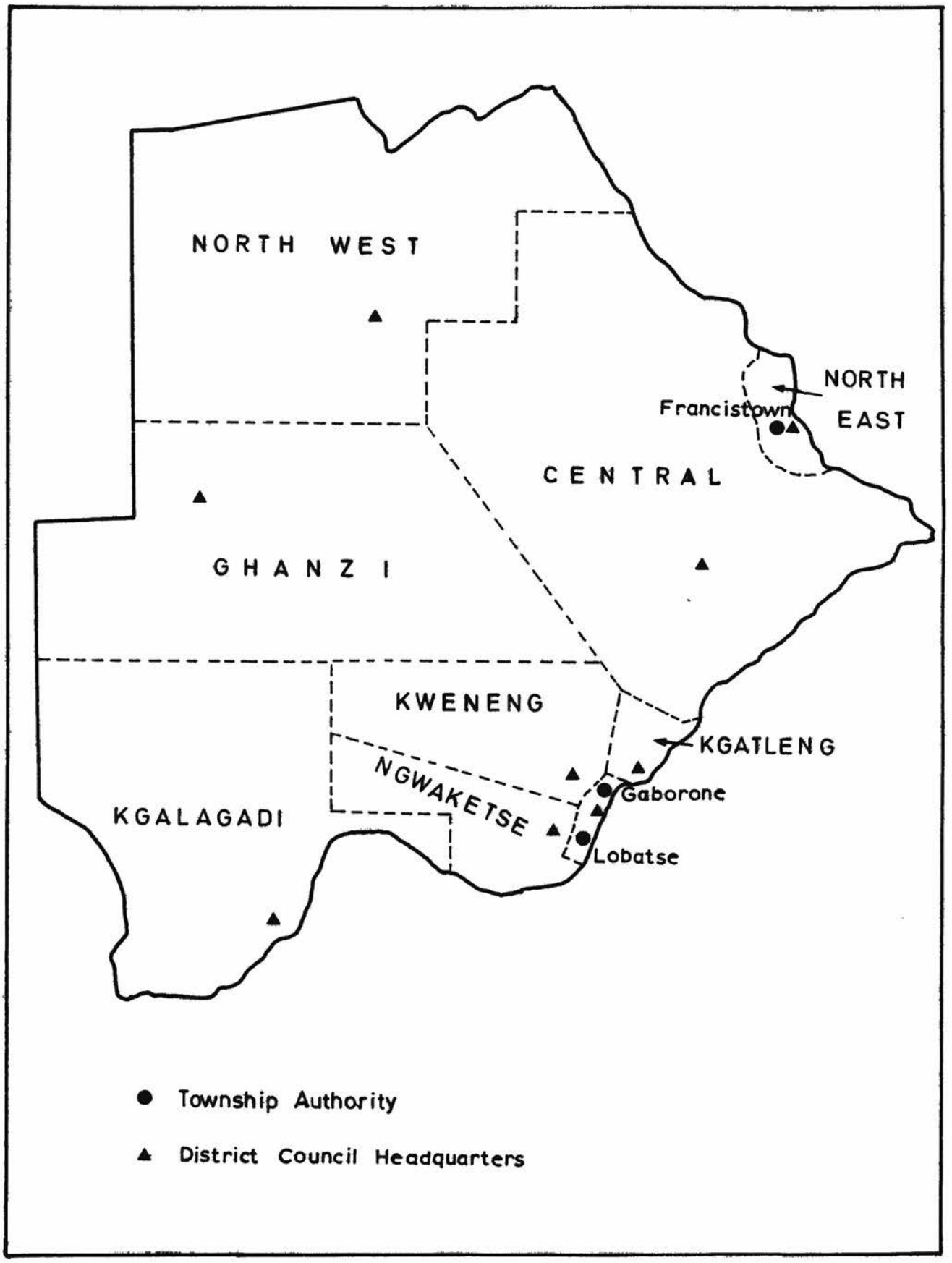

Figure 4. Local Government Areas of Botswana 1970

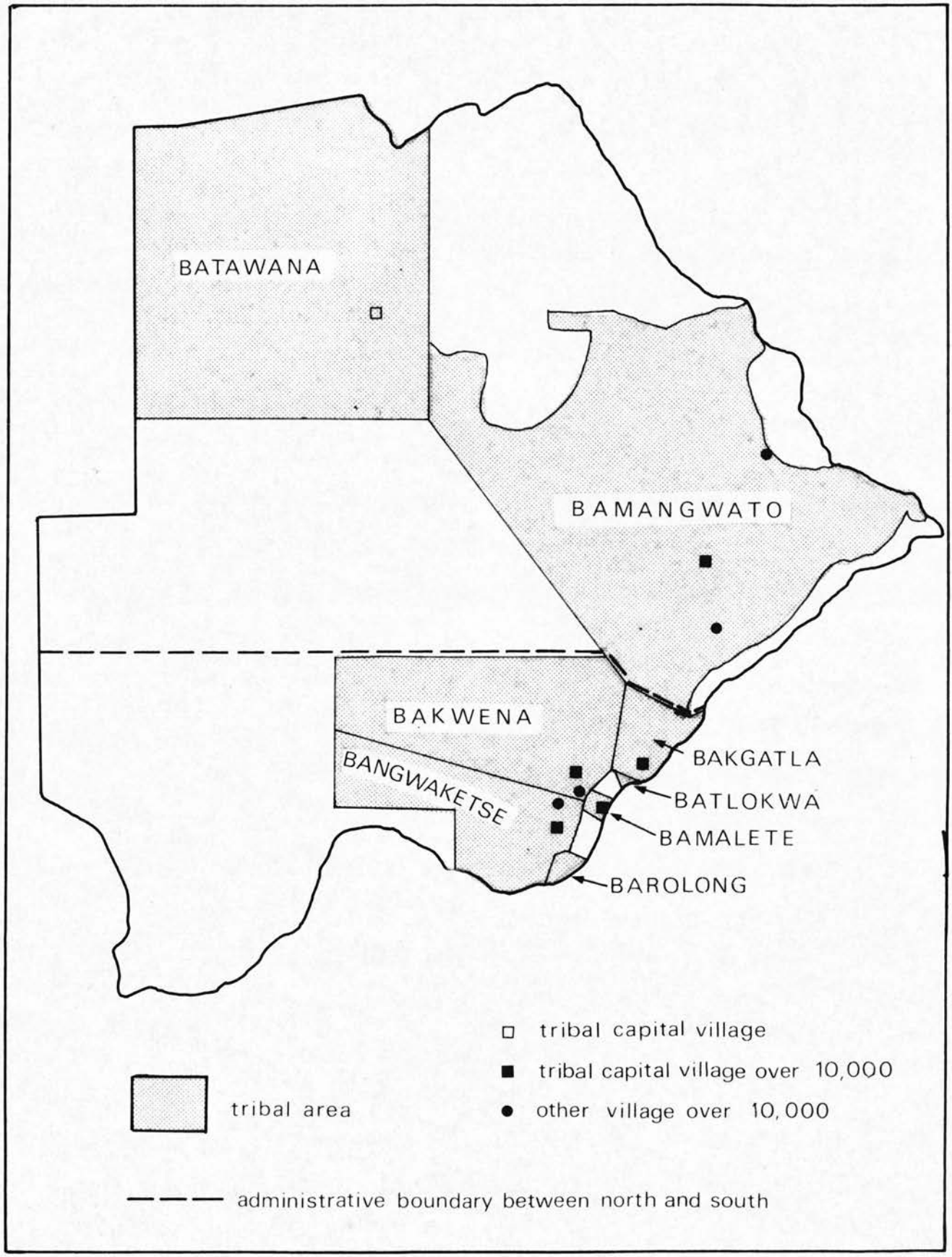

Figure 5. Tribal Areas of Botswana

universally. The task of building national unity and consciousness in Botswana, therefore, is spared some of the difficulties only too apparent elsewhere in Africa. By the same token, the traditional social, political, and economic structure of the Tswana has great relevance to the state as a whole. This structure, which in contrast to the Protectorate Administration was highly developed and ably organised, especially in the political sphere, has been exhaustively examined by Professor I. Schapera[1] and only a few salient features will be mentioned here. Most striking, because unusual in Southern Africa, is the tendency of the Batswana to cluster in large villages around their leaders: in 1964 40% of the population belonged to fifteen villages of over 5,000 people, and 32% to villages of over 10,000.[2] This concentration in large villages is part of a widespread three-point settlement pattern which accommodates the Motswana's requirements as a stock-owner and cultivator. The pattern is illustrated in the diagram below.

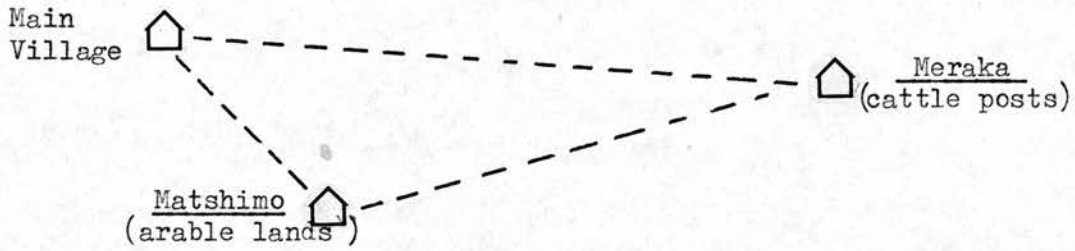

Figure 6. Spatial Relationships of Tswana Villages, Lands and Cattle Posts

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1 See, amongst other works, The Tswana (London: International African Institute, 1953), and A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom (London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1955).
2 BP Census 1964, p.18.

From the time that ploughing begins in November, following the first rains, until the harvest is reaped in June it is likely that some members of the family will reside at the lands, particularly if these are situated more than a few hours' journey away from the village. For those who have no motorised transport - the vast majority - the cattle posts may be several days' journey away: distances of over 100 miles are not uncommon in the Ngwato. Since sons were responsible for herding cattle, this led to a serious imbalance between the numbers of boys and girls at school, and parity is only now being achieved.[1] Other problems of modernisation are posed. Rural development requires an investment in the land and a concentration of effort on the part of the peasant farmer, principles which are encouraged neither by the tradition, supported legally, that the farmer cannot own his land, which is the tribe's, nor by the geographical dispersion of his economic interests.

Cattle occupy a central position in the life of individual and nation, both economically and socially. In 1968 there were 1¼ million head, or approximately two for each man, woman and child. Of total national exports in the same year valued at R7.5 million, no less than R5.8 million came from cattle carcasses, and a staggering R7.25 from meat, hides and other animal products.[2] Cattle are also at the centre of the social fabric, and although they are less used today for the settlement of a bride's dowry (bogadi), the ownership of cattle still demonstrates wealth and confers prestige. Indeed, the opinion has been ventured by more than one observer that if school teachers were less busy looking after their cattle, their pupils might fare rather better!

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1 As recently as 1965, there were 37,169 girls at primary school, and only 28,892 boys. BP Annual Report 1965, p.175.
2 Statistical Abstract 1969, Tables 33 and 30.

Paradoxically, despite the pre-eminence of stock in the country's economy, much less attention has been devoted to extension work in animal husbandry than in crop production, though attempts have been made to rectify this in the past five or six years. Much has been done on the veterinary side in disease control but an educational programme has been lacking. Striking as they do at the heart of traditional society, the changes in attitude and behaviour which such a programme must seek will not be easy to achieve though they are essential if the cattle industry is to realise its full potential. The quality of beasts must take precedence over their quantity; fencing or at least much stricter control of movement must be accepted if selective breeding is to be practised effectively; and the deterioration of pasture must be seen as the result of controllable human behaviour rather than of inadequate rainfall.

The economic and financial position of Botswana has always been weak. During the first few decades of colonial tutelage, when Britain's policy was that territories should be self-sufficient, the lack of internally produced revenue meant a consequent lack of services and development. From 1955 when the need to raise standards of services was officially recognised,[1] the shortfall between revenue and expenditure was made up from United Kingdom funds. The first really serious commitment to a policy of economic development as opposed to mere administration came in 1960,[2] leading to increased aid from Britain which has continued to be needed in substantial proportions to balance the budget. With the recent discovery of commercial quantities of

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1 The High Commission Territories: Economic Development and Social Services, Cmd.9580 (HMSO, 1955), p.13.
2 Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland: Report of an Economic Survey Mission (HMSO, 1960).

copper-nickel at Selibe and diamonds at Orapa, both in the Central District, the economic prospects have changed dramatically however. Tourism also offers great potential. Fortunately both mining and tourism are in their infancy at a time when much more is known about the effects of their development upon a country's economy and society than has been the case in territories where these industries are already well developed, and protective measures can be taken. Certainly the Government will do all it can to prevent the development of an internal pattern of migrant labour similar to that which creams off 25,000 young Batswana men each year in the search for wages on the Witwatersrand in South Africa.[1]

However successful the mining and tourist developments may be they cannot provide a substitute for progressive rural development. On the contrary, because of the expectations they raise, they underline the need for concentrated efforts to improve economic and social conditions in the rural areas. This is not merely a desirable strategy but an essential one, for these areas provide most people with their only opportunity of earning a livelihood in the foreseeable future. A priority decision for rural development is involved and it is in the context of such a priority that community development in Botswana must be seen.

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1 Statistical Abstract 1969, Table 26. See I. Schapera, Migrant Labour and Tribal Life (London: Oxford University Press, 1947) for a full study of the effects of labour migration on rural life.

PART I

THE COLONIAL AND AFRICAN BACKGROUND

CHAPTER I

THE INTER-WAR PERIOD: EDUCATION AND THE COMMUNITY

Educational development in British colonial Africa is generally recognised as having had three indentifiable phases. The period up to 1925 was characterised by independent activity, as often as not with a missionary connection, and little government intervention. The post-1945 phase was concerned with education for self-government. The intervening period, during which governments recognised their overall responsibility for education and in which efforts were made to adapt education to the needs of predominantly rural societies,[1] is the concern of the first part of this chapter. Particular interest is paid to those features of educational policy which stress the relationship of education to community life, for here can be found the origins of community development. The period is notable more for its ideas than their implementation, but as is discussed in the latter part of the chapter some progressive work in the field of adult education was done in Bechuanaland at the time, using a variety of media and involving local people in the design of programmes. This work illustrates two interesting points: that achievement in adult education was not necessarily dependent upon the allocation of extensive resources, and that local participation was a practical possibility with unsophisticated rural communities. Much later, community development practice reflected these features, making a virtue out of necessity of the first and adopting the second as a matter of principle.

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1 L.J. Lewis, Equipping Africa: Educational Development in British Colonial Africa (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1948), pp.3-6, and R. Symonds, The British and Their Successors (London: Faber, 1966), p.133.

The Influence of the Phelps-Stokes Reports

The critical examination of African education which took place during the 1920's began with the visit to Africa of the first Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1920-21.[1] A second Commission followed shortly afterwards to survey those countries excluded on the first visit.[2] Although having strong church affiliations the Commissions were far from complacent about the situation they encountered which was of course largely the product of the labours of missionary societies. Many of their comments have a familiar ring for those involved in educational policy-making today:

> It is recognised that the school has definite responsibilities to the community[3]

and more firmly

> The adaptation of education to the needs of the people is urged as the first requisite of school activities. Much of the indifference and even opposition to education in Africa is due to the failure to adapt school work to African conditions.[4]

These short quotations alone provide sufficient justification for the opinion that many of the recommendations of the Reports had contemporary relevance in the 1960's.[5] "Adaptation to local conditions" has a central place in any discussion of community development, and since the above opinion reflects unfavourably on the progress made in the intervening period the matter merits further examination here.

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1 Thomas Jesse Jones, comp., Education in Africa (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922), pp.xvii-xviii.
2 Thomas Jesse Jones, comp., Education in East Africa (London: Edinburgh House Press for the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1925), pp.xxii-xxiii.
3 Thomas Jesse Jones (1922), op.cit., p.10.
4 Ibid., p.11.
5 L.J. Lewis, ed., Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p.8.

There is little doubt that education in Africa still suffers from an unselective influence of foreign ideals and systems,[1] and in many areas requires radical adjustments to make it relevant to African conditions.[2] To find the most effective way of implementing such changes is, however, an immensely difficult task. Not only are some of the most fundamental questions about a society's aims involved, but the interpretation of an agreed policy can vary considerably. Deploring the fact that certain colonial powers limited the use of native languages in school, the Reports complained that such a policy led to the uncritical adoption of European customs and outlook quite unsuited to African conditions. The worst result of this process of jettisoning things African in favour of things European was the loss of self-respect which ensued.[3] Such criticisms may not have impressed "up-and-coming" Africans of the time, but today the cultural alienation engendered by "European" educational systems is passionately denounced.[4] Echoes of the Phelps-Stokes views are found in the centre of current African nationalist philosophy, lucidly expressed by President Nyerere of Tanzania[5] and now evident in the ideology of President Khama of Botswana.[6]

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† Pupils in the Niger Republic, for instance, still follow exactly the same syllabus as children in Paris. Sunday Times Magazine, 10 October 1971, p.45.

2 See Rene Dumont, False Start in Africa (London: Andre Deutsch, 1966), p.88-93, and P.M. Igboko, "Adult Education in Nigeria" (unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1964), p.78. An indication of how thorough the readjustments must be is afforded by an experience of the writer's in Botswana in 1968. On visiting a village primary school, he was asked to hear the class recite. They did so: "Rain, rain, go away, Come again another day".

3 Thomas Jesse Jones (1925), op.cit., p.10.

4 Okot p'Bitek, "Culture and the Community", African Adult Education, 1, 2, 1968, pp.4-8.

5 See for example, the essay on "Education for Self-Reliance" by Julius Nyerere in his book Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism (Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp.46-48.

6 "Nation Building Role of Botswana's Teachers", Daily News, 15 December 1969, p.1.

The argument for adaptation of education appears strong enough on cultural grounds alone. To these could be added economic constraints. Yet despite the clearly formed statements of the desirability of such a policy fifty years ago by educationists of international repute, and subsequent support by African writers and national leaders, implementation has been piece-meal and largely ineffective. The reasons for this have received a little attention[1] but in view of the current desire to adapt education for rural development would appear to demand a more comprehensive and rigorous examination.

The Phelps-Stokes Reports anticipated present-day policies in education and community development in other respects. They criticised the lack of co-operation between educational agencies and urged that the goals and working methods of all agencies should be examined and made mutually consistent. This co-ordination should be built into the whole educational system and not limited to incidental mutual assistance.[2] Here is the forerunner of the "holistic" or "integrated" approach which became one of the hallmarks of community development. The link between "effective participation of the Native people"[3] and the modern concept of public participation in development is clear enough. The careful study of native life recommended[4] subsequently became formalised in several countries with the employment of government anthropologists, though the results of such anthropological studies often had little effect on government policy other than providing academic justification for the support of traditional political

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1 Philip Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), p.156-175.
2 Thomas Jesse Jones (1925), op.cit., pp.92-100;
3 Thomas Jesse Jones (1922), op.cit., p.85.
4 Ibid., p.87.

organisations. Local rather than national considerations governed this policy of indirect rule,[1] and the influence of the anthropology which supported it somewhat naturally declined as the independence phase concentrated on national preconceptions. It is evident, however, that the currently growing demand for honest evaluation of development programmes will lead to a new emphasis on adaptation in terms of specifically local criteria.[2]

At the same time as underlining the paramount needs of the rural majority the Reports showed an awareness of the danger of preventing effective movement to the urban sector through too restricted and inflexible an education system.[3] In this, and in the attention directed towards the need for a general youth policy as well as a programme for women and girls, the thinking of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions continues to have relevance.

The Colonial Office 1925 Memorandum

The links between the work of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and the Colonial Office were close. The publication of the first Report led to the establishment of a Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa,[4] the first secretary being Hanns Vischer who was also a member of the second Phelps-Stokes Commission. Several members of the Advisory Committee were deeply impressed by

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1 Sir Andrew Cohen, British Policy in Changing Africa (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959), pp.22-27.
2 See A.M. Klausen, Kerala Fishermen and the Indo-Norwegian Pilot Project (London: Allen and Unwin, 1968), p.183, and Herbert Hyman et.al., Inducing Social Change in Developing Communities (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1967).
3 Thomas Jesse Jones (1925), op.cit., p.8.
4 K.J. King, "The American Background of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and their Influences in Education in East Africa, especially in Kenya" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1968), pp.138-139.

the failure of Indian education to meet the needs of the masses,[1] and so were favourably disposed to the Phelps-Stokes orientation towards rural life and manual work. Their first memorandum, published in 1925,[2] adhered to the spirit of Phelps-Stokes and was at that time a radical statement of policy. It was in fact the first enunciation of a general policy designed to guide people and agencies involved in native education.

The 1925 Memorandum has become well-known, but discussion of specific points contained in it is not superfluous to this study. Although it had remarkably little influence on the orientation of formal education systems, it set out clearly much of the philosophy which governed the evolution of mass education and community development.

A central theme running through the Memorandum was that education should be limited neither to the classroom, the individual, nor the Education Departments. Education should be concerned with the welfare and advancement of the community as a whole, both local and more widespread. Advisory Boards should include a wide cross-section of interests, and in particular Departments of Health, Public Works, Railways and Agriculture should be involved in the creation of educational policy. The aim was to advance through "improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of the ideals of citizenship and service".[3] These features, expressed in more technical phraseology, find their place in

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1 Symonds, op.cit., pp.138-139.
2 CO, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, Cmd.2374, (HMSO, 1921).
3 Ibid., p.4.

most national development plans in Africa today. In other words the overall aims of education have not altered radically over the past half-century. Indeed, the aims of the educational system in Bechuanaland in 1964 were actually described by quoting from the Memorandum.[1] Effective changes in policy may be seen therefore to relate less to statements of intent than to structural revision and a greater ability to match aims with a practical programme. That this ability does not automatically grow is only too obvious, as is illustrated in Bechuanaland where the defects of the primary school system were in 1964 getting worse, according to Sir Christopher Cox, Education Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.[2]

Bearing in mind the subsequent involvement in mass education in the 1940's on the part of both administrators and educators,[3] the comment that "it is open to consideration whether a closer union between the administrative and educational branches of the service would not conduce to the success of the policy advocated",[4] is particularly interesting. Such functional integration did not in fact develop very far, and it is not difficult to envisage some of the fundamental obstacles. On the other hand in several countries, Tanganyika and Kenya for instance, and subsequently Bechuanaland, the administrative branch became increasingly involved with welfare work, and in due course this process of attrition resulted in the propagation of community development activities by administrators. Whereas the educational roots of community development were fertile in ideas, organisational growth[5] owes much to the activities of administrators.

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1 The Development of the Public Service (Gaborone: 1965), p.9.
2 Ibid., p.10.
3 See below, p.71.
4 CO (1925), op.cit., p.5.
5 Adopting the educational-organisational analysis of William and Loureide Biddle, The Community Development Process, (New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1965).

To what extent the open-ended approach to education adopted in the Memorandum may be attributed to the high proportion of Advisory Committee members who were not professional educators[1] is a question of some interest. There is at least some evidence to indicate, during the colonial period, a correlation between conservative and western-oriented education policies and a limitation of policy-making to professional colonial educationists. The adoption of an attitude that the formal education system must be concerned with the inculcation of universal skills and values, and should not be adulterated by such considerations as economic opportunity, certainly characterised the role of the Bechuanaland Education Department in the first attempts to solve the primary school-leaver problem in 1964-65.[2]

Like the Phelps-Stokes Reports, the 1925 Memorandum laid considerable store on local culture, emphasising the importance of respecting and building upon traditional forms of social organisation. The integration of education with the local community was sought, an objective which on the surface seems both reasonable and desirable but which hides major difficulties. What appears to be a realistic community orientation of education is seen in the following comments, made in the 1950's:

> Until now he [the African] has been subject to a school system which drew him away from his own community.... Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life.... The [African] teacher

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1 Of the nine members, five were not professionals: the Colonial Under Secretary, a retired Governor, two bishops, and the Secretary of the International Missionary Council.

2 At the interdepartmental meetings to discuss this problem in 1965 (see below, p.263), the attitude of the Director of Education towards suggestions that economic opportunity should be an important criterion influencing the school syllabus was that such suggestions were adulterating the goals of education.

> must be integrated as an active agent in the process of development of the community.[1]

When it is realised that these are the views of Dr Verwoerd on Bantu Education they are given an unpleasant interpretation, and the dangers of terms whose connotations depend upon the good-will or self-interest of those using them becomes apparent.[2] Foster has pointed to the echoes of the 1953 South African Bantu Education Act found in attempts at the local adaptation of education in Ghana.[3] The difference therefore between the Phelps-Stokes tradition and the desire of African national leaders for "africanisation" of education on the one hand, and on the other the approach to Bantu Education indicated above is seen to lie largely in the political intentions of the policy-makers.

The dilemma is seen most realistically when one moves from the philosophical to the practical sphere. In terms of both cultural emphasis and employment opportunities, how can African governments ensure that their efforts to relate education to local realities are free of the more obvious drawbacks of Bantu Education? The distinctions may well be unclear to educational planners and well nigh incomprehensible to the local people affected. When the primary school syllabus was being revised in Bechuanaland in 1965 to make it less colonial and more locally relevant, no little opposition was encountered from local education committees who asserted that this was a thinly veiled attempt to introduce Bantu Education.[4]

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1 Dr H. Verwoerd, as Minister of Native Affairs addressing the South African Senate 1954, quoted in Brian Bunting, The Rise of the South African Reich (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1964), pp.206-207.
2 Victor Murray, The School in the Bush (London: Frank Cass, 1938), p.288.
3 Philip Foster, op.cit., p.165.
4 Personal communication, T.A.L. Richards, Education Officer supervising revision of primary school syllabus.

The above digression is by no means irrelevant since it draws attention to an ambivalence in community development, an ambivalence which may also be expressed in the polarity between local and national needs. This is another very practical problem, and in any given situation it may well not be clear where the correct path between the polarities lies.[1] Statements of official development policy have long paid lip-service to the need to respect local cultures, but in practice development programmes tend to ignore them in the pursuit of national goals. That the dichotomy has persisted for so long, despite attempts to find mutually acceptable formulae, suggests that the degree of synthesis achievable between the two polarities is strictly limited. Community development is at the centre of the tensions involved, pulled in one direction by ideals of local self-expression and community solidarity, and in the other by its role of providing the mechanism or "multiplication factor" for making effective a government's national policy of modernisation and development.

In view of the close relationship between adult education and community development, the Advisory Committee's plea that adult education should constantly be borne in mind deserves note. The Memorandum was consistently concerned with the community dimension in education and it was thought that the provision of adult education would make it possible for all sections of the community to advance together.

The Advisory Committee was aware that the effective working out of its recommendations would require staff of the highest ability. In Africa no less than in more commercialised parts of the world the only

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1 See for example, correspondence between P. Wass, CD Journal, 6, 1967, pp.6-7, and Naomi Mitchison, CD Journal, 7, 1967, pp.2-3.

way to obtain such people in substantial numbers is by offering competitively attractive conditions of service,[1] which means in essence a financial incentive. In common with other African countries, such as Lesotho, Uganda and Kenya, the bulk of primary school teachers in Botswana were and still are employed by agencies other than central government; usually missions, tribal administrations or local councils which could not and cannot offer salaries equal to the Civil Service. Thus a Botswana central government clerk receives higher pay and generally better conditions that a school teacher with comparable educational qualifications. Inevitably, the teaching profession cannot become competitive until this situation is neutralised or reversed.[2] Other countries were in the same predicament, and by inference one can see here another contributory reason for the disappointing implementation of the 1925 Memorandum's recommendations.

Efforts were of course made to orient educational policies in individual countries, as in Nigeria,[3] but there was stiff opposition from the Africans themselves who wanted nothing less than equality with United Kingdom education.[4] On the whole the statements of policy were not adequately reflected in educational programmes, and progress was extremely uneven. That the policy of relating education to local needs is "the only policy to follow is unquestionable, but it will never be an easy one to work out in detail".[5] The principles identified in the 1920's by the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and the Advisory Committee have been drawn upon repeatedly in the ensuing half century, and they provide the first major step in the evolution of community development.

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1 Report on Localisation and Training (Gaborone: 1966), p.55.
2 Ibid., p.56.
3 Igboko, op.cit., pp.122-123.
4 Symonds, op.cit., p.146.
5 L.J. Lewis, Education and Political Independence in Africa (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1962), p.90.

Concern for the Whole Community

The lack of field implementation of its earlier recommendations did not deter the Advisory Committee. In 1935 it produced its second major policy statement[1] which developed and enlarged the themes set out in 1925. It was now evident that the Committee was viewing education in a much wider perspective than the provision of formal schooling: improvement of the whole community was the aim, requiring collaboration between all agencies concerned and integration of the schools with local communities. The recognition that the rapidly changing environment should be a major determinant in shaping educational provision represented a progressive break from former educational practice which had tended to look upon the status quo as being immutable.

In addition to the emphasis on the education of adults as well as children, three other features of the 1935 Memorandum are particularly relevant to the present study. Firstly, the need to concentrate on the requirements of those living in rural areas, who comprised the mass of the population, was recognised. Such concentration was not to be limited to the efforts of educational agencies but should be part of a general programme of rural reconstruction. Secondly, the "consent and wholehearted support" of the African population was necessary if the policy was to be successful.[2] We have already observed that what appears an enlightened policy to government may not appear so to other sections of the community. Nevertheless, the concept expressed here of a voluntary partnership between government and people subsequently became central to community development policy and remains

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1 CO, Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, Col.No.103, (HMSO, 1935).
2 Ibid., para.29.

an area of current concern in the broader field of development planning. Thirdly, the proposal that "intensive experiments in the improvement of the life of rural communities in one or more selected areas"[1] be undertaken, introduced the concept of the pilot project which shortly became a marked feature of the pioneering work in mass education,[2] though it did not make much headway in formal education systems.

Although several of the most important concepts upon which community development was later to draw had by this time been spelled out the 1935 Memornadum, like its 1925 predecessor, did not have a great impact in the field,[3] mainly because it did not propose an actual plan of action.[4] The Advisory Committee continued to evolve its ideas, however, considering further the question of integrated development programmes and community education.[5] In 1939 the Secretary of State reiterated the need to see education, medicine and agriculture as parts of a unified concept of social welfare.[6] Evidently this was a very broad concept since it would provide the overall coherence to social policy involving most government departments in addition to, specifically, the District Administration.[7] During the 1939-45 war the District Administration did in fact become closely associated with social welfare, but what emerged in the field as social welfare during

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1 Ibid., Summary, p.4.
2 See below, Chapter 2, pp.86-91.
3 COI, Community Development: The British Contribution,(HMSO, 1962), p.2.
4 D. Brokensha and P. Hodge, Community Development: An Interpretation (San Francisco: Chandler, 1969), p.28.
5 In 1937 Sub-Committees presented a "Memorandum on the Importance of Programmes covering all Social and Economic Activities", and a "Memorandum on Some Factors in Community Education in Rural Areas", Oversea Education, 9, 1, 1937, p.40.
6 Colonial Secretary, Circular Despatch on Nutrition, 8 July 1939.
7 Ibid.

that period was a much reduced version of the 1939 concept. Social welfare in fact emerged as part of the responsibility of the District Administration rather than one of its objectives. The social welfare officers who were subsequently appointed, in the East African countries at least, as well as in Bechuanaland, had functions parallel to, not embracing, those of other departmental officers; functions which can only be considered marginal to the gathering post-war development momentum, being limited to a variety of sectional activities such as the relief of destitutes and handicapped persons, relations with voluntary bodies, and in some cases the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen.

An awareness of the inhibitions illiteracy imposed on the mobilisation of human resources was a fairly early outcome of experiences in World War II, and was partially responsible for the setting up of a sub-committee of the Advisory Committee to look into the question of mass literacy and adult education bearing in mind the community education emphasis already established.[1] The Sub-Committee's report, Mass Education in African Society,[2] gave official sanction to experiments that were by 1943 already taking place, as well as giving them a new impetus and coherence. However, before considering this report, which marks a watershed in the growth of community development and therefore is more suitably placed in the following chapter, we now need to look at the events in Bechuanaland during the period prior to the report's publication.

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1 Brokensha and Hodge, op.cit., p.28.

2 CO, Mass Education in African Society, Col.No.186 (HMSO, 1943). It should be noted that the copy of this memorandum in the National Library of Scotland is quite definitely dated "1943". It is commonly referred to as the 1944 Memorandum however.

Bechuanaland: Education and the Community 1920-1944

This study is concerned with the origins and development of ideas, and the ways in which these ideas are reflected in policy and practice. We have already seen, in the context of British colonial policy, how closely the stages in this development may be linked together. The pattern, if one can call it that, appears to be of valuable ideas recurring time and again, the major variable being the response to them. To gain ground ideas require a receptive environment, and the lack of this may often be explained simply and not entirely inaccurately by the adage that "the time was not ripe".

As with colonial policy so with the case of Botswana. The researcher cannot fail to be impressed by the evidence that progressive thinking did exist a long way back, and by the gap between such thought and widespread practical implementation. The case of the 1905 report by E.B. Sargant, Education Adviser to the High Commissioner, provides a crystal-clear example of the pattern. He stressed

i) the importance of encouraging village industries

and

ii) that such work should be closely linked with the schools.[1]

Apart from a few experiments in the 1930's, discussed below, little attempt was made to apply these ideas until the mid-1960's when Swaneng Hill School, Serowe, put them into practice to the letter, by establishing school-related projects in building, leatherwork, textiles and farming. These experiments at Swaneng can now be seen to have been instrumental in encouraging the shift in educational policy towards the needs of a rural society which has taken place in the last three or

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1 H.J.E. Dumbrell, Director of Education, addressing the Jeanes Conference, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, 1935. BNA 6878/3.

four years, but at the time they were being pioneered they were clearly out of line with the mainstream of educational thought in the country. A climate of opinion wary of technical and agricultural education had been evident since the time of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, which noted that the Batswana themselves, and especially the Chiefs, had had a strong influence on education but that this influence tended towards a literary bias.[1] It is not surprising therefore that the education system in general showed few signs of adapting to local and rural needs or that Sargant's rural industries proposals made so little impact.

Yet the Batswana have long had a "genuine interest in education".[2] Hailey mentions Chief Bathoen I originating a voluntary levy of two shillings per Mongwaketse taxpayer in 1903 for the upkeep of schools.[3] Just how "voluntary" was the levy may be a matter for speculation: the special levy for the Isang Pilane Secondary School at Mochudi erected in 1923 was, according to Hailey, raised from members of Acting Chief Isang's own age-regiment (mophato), who had been ordered to earn the money in the mines![4] The official version at the time differed somewhat. Opening the school, the High Commissioner applauded the Chief as follows:

> this [building] is a sign of the progressive spirit which you are showing.... It is very creditable to you and to them [the Bakgatla tribesmen] that money and labour have been so freely given for this excellent purpose.[5]

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1 Thomas Jesse Jones (1925), op.cit., p.277.
2 Lord Hailey, The High Commission Territories: Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland, Part 5 of Native Administration in the British African Territories (London: HMSO, 1953), p.298.
3 Ibid., pp.207-208.
4 Ibid.
5 H.R.H. Prince Arthur, High Commissioner, opening the Isang Pilane Secondary School, Mochudi, 30 July 1923. BNA (no number).

Whatever the exact truth of this particular case, it is clear that the leadership of several tribes has had an active interest in education since early in the century and believed that the tribes had a responsibility to do something for themselves. The larger tribes formed tribal school committees within a few years of the proposal being made in Sargant's 1905 report.[1] Local organisation for education in Botswana, therefore, may be seen to have a long history.

The organisation of education may have been local, but the orientation was not and indeed, if the existing records reflect the true picture, there was a singular lack of discussion about educational policy from the time of Sargant's report until the mid-1930's. The education files in the government archives contain no contemporary reference whatsoever to the 1925 Colonial Office Memorandum,[2] nor was the relation of education to the community discussed. The first glimmer of innovatory initiative appeared in 1931, when a European lady, Miss P.S. Steedman, wishing to make a useful contribution to the country made an abortive attempt to establish at Gabane, Kweneng District, a school for boys' carpentry and girls' domestic science.[3]

Sargant's functional community-oriented report was used in the 1930's as a basis for starting rural industries work.[4] At the same time a new code of instruction specifically designed for Bechuanaland had been introduced in the schools, with emphasis on the development of Tswana arts and crafts, and on agricultural education.[5] These

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1 A. Sillery (1952), op.cit., p.97.
2 H.J.E. Dumbrell, who was appointed Education Officer in 1928, has no recollection of the 1925 Memorandum being available in Mafeking. Personal communication, 23 October 1970.
3 BNA 2682 and 2686/1.
4 BNA 6878/3, pp.9-11.
5 BP Annual Report 1935, p.27.

developments were not coincidental but were due to the efforts of H.J.E. Dumbrell, the first Director of Education, a post he held from 1935 to 1945.[1] He is distinguishable from his successors by his consistent determination to look at educational needs as they were identified in the Bechuanaland situation, rather than importing policies based on traditional European conventions. He realised that most school-going children spent only three years at school, and reasonably decided that within this period the main aim should be the achievement of basic literacy and numeracy. Accepting the situation in which the number of girls at school was more than double that of boys,[2] he appointed itinerant teachers who would establish "mobile schools" at the cattle posts, and the success of this experiment far exceeded expectations.[3] The educational policy had at this time a broad conceptual framework which for the first two decades after the 1939-45 War seems to have been singularly lacking:

> In order to achieve the betterment, in its widest sense, of the individual and the community, the object of education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate is to provide the African with the basic tools with which to master his environment and make the fullest use of his leisure.[4]

There are clear echoes here of the 1935 Memorandum, which Dumbrell had read. Indeed he had considered it so important that he had been active in arranging a meeting between the Directors of Education of the three High Commission Territories in 1937 to discuss its implications. They considered that if the contribution of the school to the improvement of community life was to be made effective a new type of teacher would be required, which would involve a major reorientation

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1 From 1928-1935 he had been the Education Officer on a half-time basis, dividing his time between Bechuanaland and Swaziland.
2 See above, Introduction, p.33 .
3 BP Annual Report 1937, pp.30-32.
4 BP Annual Report 1938, p.30.

of teacher-training programmes.[1] Dumbrell personally followed this up by inaugurating a quarterly journal for distribution to teachers under the general title Lebone Lwa Batswana[2] (Bechuanaland Torch), containing news and articles, written by himself and such people as Dr E.G. Malherbe and Father Bernard van Roth, generally based on what may be termed community development.[3] But once again the syndrome of progressive ideas not becoming soundly established is apparent. Some thirty years later, an impartial observer concerned with the development of all sections of public service in the country noted that the methods employed in teacher-training colleges were likely to have an adverse effect on the development of community leadership qualities in new teachers.[4]

The Emergence of Adult Education

It was in the field of adult education, however, that Dumbrell's special contribution was most marked, a contribution that was entirely consistent with his broad concept of education related to community needs. In addition to supporting rural industries, he advocated the development of adult schools the study content of which would be designed to meet the "special aspirations and needs" of participants. The proposal was reinforced by the evident value of the adult education efforts of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Bakgatla Reserve and by the fact that villagers even in such remote areas as the Kgalagadi

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1 BNA 8061/1, p.31.
2 Later published under Dumbrell's editorship as Letters to African Teachers (London: Longmans Green, 1935), and More Letters to African Teachers (London: Longmans Green, 1938).
3 Personal communication from H.J.E. Dumbrell, 23 October 1970.
4 Report on Localisation and Training (Gaberone, 1966), p.51.

had established adult schools without external assistance, so great was their desire to learn.[1] Addressing the Native Advisory Council in 1934, Dumbrell enlarged on his concept:

> I want these schools not to be night schools /following the formal education curriculum/, but I want them to be schools where adults will be taught things which they think will be of real value to them. I hope that at those schools it will be possible to use the services of other Departments.[2] (Italics mine)

He specifically mentioned the need for active collaboration from the Departments of Agriculture, Medical Services, and Veterinary Services. That the development of these adult schools should be seen in the wider context of creating balanced communities was also recognised. In the case of Bechuanaland "Greater attention needs to be given to the possibilities of adult education and efforts in this field require to be co-ordinated with the activities of the school."[3]

Embodied in these proposals were four principles which became central in post-war community development policy: adult education must be relevant to the local situation; it was to be, in modern jargon, "client-centred" dealing with people's felt needs; it would be provided to meet a genuine public demand; and it would involve the collaboration of several agencies in a co-ordinated programme. What is most remarkable about this policy, considering its close parallel with the strategy of the 1935 Memorandum, is that it evolved independently being first enunciated in September 1934. It is no surprise, therefore, to find that the Bechuanaland Administration lost little time in

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1 BNA 8425, pp.1-3.
2 BNA 8425, p.4.
3 H.J.E. Dumbrell, discussing the relevance of the 1935 Memorandum in an address to a meeting of Educational Officers of the High Commission Territories, January 1937. BNA 8016/1, p.29.

declaring its whole-hearted agreement with the aims of the Memorandum, which it considered to be of such great importance to all concerned with African welfare that thirty-six copies were requested for distribution to all Heads of Departments and members of the Board of Advice on African Education.[1]

Action soon followed the statement of intention. Between 1935 and 1937 three experimental adult schools were opened. The concept of providing information and facilitating discussion on matters requested by the people was vindicated as the schools rapidly became very popular. As originally intended, they were serviced by staff from a variety of agencies, including agricultural demonstrators, welfare workers, medical officers and clerks.[2] The demand was such that it was decided to introduce the schools at the larger centres, and by 1938 there were seven in operation.[3] A separate though supporting innovation was the institution of a travelling library service as an instrument of adult education, with seven boxes each containing fifty books circulating round the main centres.[4] The schools were fairly successful though they placed a strain on organisational resources, a particular difficulty being the lack of adequate lighting.[5] In common with other activities, this programme suffered from the strains imposed

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1 Acting RC Mafeking to HC Pretoria, 29 July 1935. BNA 364/1, vol.5, p.3. The existence of the Board is interesting since its function would appear to have been an extremely important one. Unfortunately, the archives shed little light on how it interpreted its role.
2 BNA 8016/1, p.29.
3 BP Annual Report 1938, p.31.
4 Notes in Overseas Education, 10, 3, 1938, pp.143-144.
5 Personal communication from H.J.E. Dumbrell, 20 November 1969. For confirmation that such seemingly trivial matters could make or break adult education activities in underdeveloped areas, see J.B. Bowers "Adult Literacy, Adult Education and Training", paper prepared for the Fourth Commonwealth Education Conference, November 1967.

by the 1939 War, and unfortunately after the war the schools did not redevelop.

Dumbrell's fertile mind was at work in other directions. In his annual report for 1935 he said:

> Although it may seem to some people rather far-fetched and rather extravagant an idea, yet I want to find out about the possibilities of using bioscopes /cinema/, and even His Honour's wireless experiment /the Resident Commissioner's introduction of radios for police stations/ for the instruction of our adults.[1]

Amazingly enough, since police tend to guard their equipment jealously, permission was obtained in 1937 to use the police radio station in Mafeking for adult education broadcasts, though the difficulty in supporting radio lectures with field demonstrations was recognised.[2] However, Setswana talks on health and livestock husbandry, for example, gained considerable interest in the larger centres. The problem of shortage of receiving sets was tackled by broadcasting in the kgotla[3] to the assembled villagers.[4] These broadcasts continued on a regular weekly basis at least until 1943,[5] though from 1939 they tended to be largely concerned with the war and the activities of the Pioneer Corps.[6] There is no further mention of educational radio in the official records - certainly the Mafeking station was not being used for such purposes in 1960 - and it was not until the mid-1960's that educational programmes were reintroduced on a systematic basis when Radio Bechuanaland was established by the Information Department.

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1 Extract from Minutes of the 18th Session of the Native Advisory Council, March 1937. BNA 8425, p.4.
2 DE to Principal Medical Officer, 1937, referring to a Colonial Office document, Certain Aspects of the Welfare of Women and Children in the Colonies (Misc.No.472). BNA 8339.
3 See Glossary
4 Personal communication from H.J. Dumbrell, 20 November 1969.
5 BNA 8425, p.53.
6 Some 10,000 Batswana enlisted with the African Pioneer Corps and served in the Middle East. See Alan Bent, Ten Thousand Men of Africa (HMSO, 1952).

One of the most interesting initiatives in adult education came in 1942, originating not from within Bechuanaland, but from Johannesburg in the person of B.G. Paver, the Managing Director of the Bantu Press. His proposal was to provide "post-schoolroom education for adult Natives" through the medium of the various newspapers which covered Southern Africa and central Africa as far as Northern Rhodesia, and the scheme was to be co-ordinated throughout this area. His basic premises were

> (a) that the school education of "Natives" did not equip them to cope with much of the basic business of living in a society where modern influences were becoming increasingly widespread, and
> (b) that in his various newspapers he had at his command a unique and unrivalled means of getting messages across to a very numerous readership.

In his letter to Dumbrell, he estimated that within a few years, at least 10% of literate "Natives" could be reached. The content of the message was to be divided into two parts: the first being concerned with the individual's approach to living "wisely, collectively and progressively"; the second dealing with the nature of government. The topics would be dealt with "in the form of short, clear and sympathetic articles."[1] In the context of a generally higher level of political sensitivity today, Paver's curriculum appears to be very paternalistic. Such ideological considerations should not, however, be allowed to obscure the fact that it represented a quite carefully thought out strategy of civic education for the public at large. In this sense then it was an early forerunner of the civics being taught in the more progressive schools in Botswana in the 1960's,[2] and also

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1 B.G. Paver to H.J.E. Dumbrell, 28 October 1942, BNA 8425. For Paver's full outline, see Appendix I (p.395).
2 See Patrick van Rensburg, Education and Development in an Emerging Country (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967).

the integrated curriculum of development studies which countries such as Kenya are currently seeking to establish in the context of mass adult education.[1]

In his reply to Paver, which was generally favourable, Dumbrell expressed some reservations about the likely motivation to read amongst Bechuanaland Africans,[2] reservations which were subsequently justified.[3] In the course of ensuing correspondence it was proposed that the circulation of the publication should include the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps as well, and in April 1943 the Conference of Education Officers of the High Commission Territories

> unanimously recommended support for the project [Paver's proposals] as being of great education value and containing considerable potentialities.[4]

Ironically it turned out to be only the Pioneer Corps who benefitted initially from these deliberations. Ndhlovu-Tlou was introduced for the Army on 1 July 1943,[5] containing home news from the High Commission Territories but not at this stage the adult education series. Paver, still pressing his proposal, then suggested that with adaptation Ndhlovu-Tlou could be made suitable for the residents of the Territories, and to this "could be added the first stages of an adult education campaign".[6]

The proposition, now clearly defined as a newspaper for the Bechuanaland Protectorate, was put to the District Commissioners for their comments. The response was most enthusiastic, though it was

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1 Personal communication, R.C. Prosser, Adviser on Adult Education, Government of Kenya, 1968-1970.
2 H.J.E. Dumbrell to B.G. Paver, 21 November 1942. BNA 8425.
3 See below, pp. 107-108.
4 BNA 8425.
5 BNA 1711/2.
6 B.G. Paver to Lord Harlech, United Kingdom High Commissioner, 17 September 1943.

not known how many people would be prepared to pay for copies. Details were ironed out, a request for Bechuanaland Government finance made and approved, and in 1944 Naledi ya Batswana appeared, rapidly gaining immense popularity amongst readers. By 1945 many Africans in the Protectorate were asking when it would be possible to subscribe to the paper, so anxious were they to secure their own copies. The adult education scheme was subsequently introduced in the paper, though there were difficulties: many of the articles created little interest; the difference in sophistication between town-dwellers and rural people was a problem; circulation remained fairly small; it tried to be too "heavily educational" rather than topical.[1] Dumbrell, however, considered it to be very successful, especially in the practice of reading aloud the educational article in the kgotla.[2]

As in the instance of the radio project, it is not known for how long adult education through the press continued. Certainly Naledi was not being used in this way in 1960, and the paper itself ceased publication in 1964, leaving Bechuanaland without a popular local newspaper, as it is today.[3]

Summary

The significance of policy development in Bechuanaland as expounded in 1934 and following years lies in the official recognition given to

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1 BNA 1711/2, Vols.2-4.
2 Personal communication from H.J.E. Dumbrell, 20 November 1969.
3 The Botswana Daily News, published by the Government Information Service, cannot be considered a newspaper in the commonly used meaning of the word: it is duplicated, distributed without charge, and is used mainly as a publicity channel for government policy and activity. The Mafeking Mail, which circulates in Botswana, is largely concerned with the social activities of "Europeans" and is read mainly by this group. Recently several Batswana have begun a correspondence campaign for a newspaper, see Kutlwano, 10, 8, 1971, p.10.

adult education not only as a legitimate but even essential aspect of government concern: for the first time a case was made for adult education in its own right and hence as a competitor for slender government resources, not merely as a shadowy afterthought to the rest of educational development. Resources were obtained and policy translated to action. This situation may be contrasted with the immediately succeeding period, 1943-1952, in which mass education policies were much discussed but little implemented.[1] In addition, the methods employed - inter-departmental collaboration, the use of radio, and encouragement of self-help, for example - which have since been absorbed into general strategies of modernisation and development, were quite definitely innovative and experimental at the time. The fact that they largely disappeared from government activity for many years indicates that in the context of Bechuanaland they were ahead of their time.

The nature of public demand for adult education was of considerable concern to the policy-makers, and this in turn had its effect on the content of the programme. We have seen that the approach to adult schools was to emphasise the wishes and interests of the students. People were enthusiastic enough to start their own schools and they responded warmly to the official initiatives. It is rather surprising, therefore, that it was noted in 1942 that "no strong demand for elementary education for adults appeared to be evident in the Territories."[2] This assessment was confirmed a year later by Dumbrell:

> In general there is at present no keen desire among adult Africans to avail themselves of these agencies [night schools], and my belief is that the underlying reasons are shyness and a feeling that it is not dignified to

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1 See below, Chapter 2, pp. 92-100.
2 Report on Conference of Directors of Education and Education Officers, September 1942. BNA 8016, vol.2.

> attend such schools. I have questioned many about why they do not attend and the general substance of their replies is: "I am too old now to learn such things as how to read and write, and further I do not feel the need as my children are at school and can read to me and do any writing that may be needed."[1]

Can any rational explanation for these apparently conflicting claims be found? The clue would appear to lie in the type of education. Whilst there was little wish or felt need on the part of adults for literacy, or for education such as was provided for their children, the case was altogether different with regard to topics which were considered useful. The former, which we may call elementary education, was based on the primary school syllabus and hence formal in nature. It taught the three "R's". In keeping with the traditional aims of western education it was concerned mainly with personal or self-development, its results would therefore be felt in the long-term rather than the short, and it would only be connected very indirectly with local community needs. This was the kind of provision under discussion in 1942 and not being functional, as the above quotation aptly shows, it did not attract popular support. By way of contrast, what had engaged Dumbrell's interest and energies and may be described as fundamental or community adult education, was based on an informal programme responsive to expressed wishes and had immediate relevance to the local community situation. In addition to the radio and press work, pamphlets and visual instruction material were distributed by various technical departments, agricultural and craftwork shows were encouraged, as well as youth movements and organisations such as the African Women War Workers. This community education did have popular support. Dumbrell recalls that many of his colleagues

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1 GS to HC, 14 August 1943. BNA 8425, p.53.

found great difficulty in accepting the latter type of programme as the main focus of adult education.[1] The lack of public interest in the traditional type of education suggests that the concept of personal development through education had little meaning for the average Motswana. Consistent with this assumption is the fact that the only success registered with this work was amongst some members of the Pioneer Corps in North Africa, who presumably were influenced by outside attitudes.[2] However, even amongst the soldiers, motivation was not great.[3]

It is evident that a fair amount of the community education activities were not designed for illiterates, although through such means as public readings in the kgotla the printed word could be spread. The realisation that insufficient was being done for illiterates led to tentative proposals that a literacy campaign should be mounted. Nothing came of this,[4] perhaps fortunately. We have already seen that there was little enough public demand for such a programme, and since the relevance of literacy to local needs had not yet been demonstrated, there was no reason for this situation to change.

Time and again during Dumbrell's term of office, the importance attached to processes of communication appears, as in his press, radio and library work. That he was determined to contact the mass of the people rather than selected individuals is seen by the consistent use of the kgotla as a medium of communication. Indeed, underlying many of his innovations was the concept of the kgotla as a tribal adult

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1 Personal communication from H.J.E. Dumbrell, 23 October 1970.
2 BNA 8016, vol.2.
3 Bent, op.cit., p.66.
4 Minutes of Conference of Education Officers, 5-8 September 1944. BNA 8425, p.54.

school. The admission even today that the kgotla remains an essential element in communicating with the public at large shows that his concept was not so backward-looking as on the surface it might seem.[1]

In terms of adult education at least, Bechuanaland was evolving in a manner that was almost entirely in keeping with the spirit and attitude of the 1935 Memorandum. That it was attempting innovation in this field, as well as in other aspects of education, is all the more surprising in the light of the lack of orientation to development which characterised the administration of the Protectorate generally.[2] The awareness of broad and long-term goals in the field of education, and the initiatives which this awareness brought about, contrast noticeably with many of the dreary attitudes prevalent in other sections of government administration, where the major concern was with the treatment of problems on a day to day basis with virtually no consideration as to long-term aims or strategy.[3] The credit for this situation must of course go largely to Dumbrell himself, particularly in his ability to translate the general approach of the 1935 Memorandum into concrete activities.

With the experience gained in adult education in the second half of the 1930's and the early 1940's, Bechuanaland would appear to have been well poised to take advantage of, and capitalise upon, the next Colonial Office initiative with its emphasis on adult literacy and mass education. How it failed to do so is the concern of the following chapter.

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1 Development Plan 1970-75 (Gaborone, 1970), p.115.
2 See above, Introduction, pp. 20-21.
3 This judgment is only an impressionistic one, gained from acquaintance with a cross-section of archives records pertaining to the 1930's and 1940's. It might, however, serve as a useful hypothesis for further research. A similar point has been made by T.S. Simey in Welfare and Planning in the West Indies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946), preface p.iv.

CHAPTER 2

FROM MASS EDUCATION TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The ten years from 1944 to 1954 span the most formative period of what has been termed the British school of community development.[1] The first major step in defining the field of operation was taken by the Colonial Office in 1943 with the publication of Mass Education for African Societies.[2] The issue of guidelines for the organisation of community development in 1948 represented the second major step.[3] Both initiatives received a more enthusiastic and in many cases more active response in Africa than had the 1925 and 1935 Memoranda, predictably so since their implementation required less radical adjustments than was involved in the reorientation of whole educational systems. The response in Bechuanaland however was disappointing, more especially since the earlier developments in adult education had augured so well for the future. The seemingly interminable discussions in Mafeking following the 1943 Memorandum finally bore little fruit, whilst the curiously curt treatment meted out to the 1948 Despatch by the Bechuanaland Administration effectively stemmed the growth of community development for over a decade.

The 1943 Memorandum: Mass Education

In the late 1930's and early 1940's the view that the need for

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1 Jim Lotz, "Is Community Development Necessary?", Anthropologica, 9, 2, 1967, pp.3-14.
2 CO, Mass Education for African Societies, Col.No.186 (HMSO, 1943).
3 Colonial Secretary, Circular Despatch of 10 November 1948.

informal foundation education demanded urgent attention gathered increasing support amongst those concerned with educational development in Africa. It was recognised that mass education had a legitimate claim on limited funds equal to those of other sectors of education.[1] The opinion was even advanced that adult education was more effective than children's education in less-developed societies because of the great influence the older people had over the community.[2] If these community leaders could learn new skills and change their attitudes towards change itself then, it was argued, the way would be opened for local communities to develop socially and economically.

The Colonial Office response to these views, which in any case accorded closely with those of the Advisory Committee, was to produce in 1943 its memorandum on mass education. The general philosophy already explored in the 1925 and 1935 Memoranda was fairly closely followed and it would be superfluous to repeat all the conclusions here. The community orientation was as central as before and the Advisory Committee was at pains to point out that "community education" had been the keynote of colonial policy for over twenty years;[3] an indication that the oft-repeated proposals had been insufficiently acted upon.

The separation of community education from the formal education system had already been foreshadowed,[4] and the four action proposals of the Memorandum helped to render this separation more obvious and inevitable. This result is somewhat paradoxical in view of the

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1 W.B. Mumford and R. Jackson, "The Problem of Mass Education in Africa", Africa, 11, 2, 1938, pp.187-207.
2 "A Plea for Adult Education in Africa", notes in Oversea Education, 13, 3, pp.372-374, referring to Joyce Carey, The Case for African Freedom (London: Secker and Warburg, 1941).
3 CO (1943), op.cit., Annexure, paras.4-5.
4 See above, pp.48-49

Memorandum's own contention that all types of education were to be regarded as "inseparable and mutually supporting parts of one programme of mass education."[1] The first proposal, that the schooling of children should be widely extended with the goal of universal schooling in mind, alone imposed a sufficiently gargantuan burden upon already over-stretched Departments of Education as to make it doubtful whether many of them would be able to take much more than an academic interest in the three other lines of attack.

The second recommendation called for the spread of adult literacy, with a widespread development of literature and libraries. The reasoning behind this formidable request is still basically accepted today: as they become increasingly literate people become more aware of the need for social and economic improvements and hence can participate more fully in the life of the nation. The literacy sought for should be functional,[2] contributing to greater proficiency in the fields of home economics, health, local government, and such practical matters as the marketing of produce. Planning of the curriculum should be in relation to the main obstacles to progress in each area. The basic concepts of functional literacy, much in vogue recently,[3] represent little enough advance on this approach,[4] though more advanced means and methods of implementation are available today. The demand for a more rigorous pedagogy in adult literacy work is one of the factors in the current trend, encouraged by UNESCO, to take literacy out of the hands of Community Development Administrations and place it

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1 CO (1943), op.cit., para.4.
2 The term "functional literacy" was not used at the time, but the general argument clearly shows that the Advisory Committee had the concept in mind.
3 See for example The Evaluation of Functional Literacy Projects, Report of a UNESCO Workshop, August 1969 (University of London: Institute of Education, 1969).
4 H. Mason, Community Development: Some Comments on the African Contribution (Holte, Denmark: Rural Development College, 1965), p.4.

with Ministries or Departments of Education. It is somewhat ironical that in the 1940's these same ministries and departments often tried to wriggle out of the responsibility, and that in cases where they were saddled with it literacy programmes were a good deal less functional than when they were organised on the basis of community development.[1]

The third proposal was that mass education should be envisaged as a community movement. It was recognised that the task of educating the masses was far too great for governments alone to handle and that it required a considerable measure of popular enthusiasm and initiative. The need "to make up for lost time" necessitated widespread participation: the "popular movement" towards literacy in the USSR had shown what vast strides could be made in a relatively few years and it was hoped that African countries would emulate the Soviet example. As we now know the differences between African societies in the 1940's and Russian society in the 1920's were so great as to make the analogy unrealistic. Nevertheless, literacy classes on a self-help basis often did become the starting points for local development action of various kinds which spread "like a bush fire", and in many areas, particularly Ghana but also Kenya and Tanzania, mass education exerted a strong emotional appeal with its atmosphere of "rural jollification".[2] This situation, in which features of a popular movement were discernible,

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1 R.C. Prosser, "The Development and Organisation of Adult Education in Kenya, with Special Reference to African Rural Development 1945-1970" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1971), pp.248-257. In West Africa, the division of responsibility between literacy and community development proposed by the 1952 Cambridge Summer Conference was not accepted. See K. Pickering, "Community Development: Resources and Time Factor", in L.J. Lewis, ed., Perspectives in Mass Education and Community Development (London: Thomas Nelson, 1955), pp.92-101.

2 H. Mason, op.cit., pp.4-5.

contrasted with the sphere of children's education in which formality and direction by the educational authorities were much more heavily in evidence.

The fourth line of approach was to be the "effective co-ordination of welfare plans and mass education plans so that they form a comprehensive and balanced whole".[1] The shift in mass education from an educational orientation to a welfare orientation was becoming more noticeable, though it is apparent that already the meaning of "welfare" had been reduced to more pragmatic dimensions than the earlier all-embracing concept.[2]

Two further points about the Memorandum are relevant. As the Advisory Committee in 1935 had singled out the needs of women and girls for special attention, in 1943 it emphasised the needs of youth. The Committee's analysis went close to what is today considered to be the heart of the "youth problem":

> a number of them [the youth] have had a smattering of education, often quite unrelated.... to the possibilities of employment. The context of mass education [for these youths].... ought perhaps to be based chiefly on some kind of technical training.[3]

In Bechuanaland youth work was designated the responsibility of the Welfare Officer shortly after the 1939-1945 War,[4] though the work undertaken did not fit into the pattern outlined in the above quotation. It was not until the 1960's that the attempt to relate the training of youth to economic opportunity became an important aspect of community development.[5]

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1 CO (1943), op.cit., para.16.
2 See above, p.48.
3 CO (1943), op.cit., Annexure, para.34.
4 See below, p.113.
5 See below, p.262ff.

The political implications of mass education were now recognised for the first time. With the 1943 Memorandum there was an explicit acknowledgement that mass education was an extremely important part of, if not a prerequisite for, self-government.[1] In July 1943 the Colonial Secretary had described the central purpose of his administration as being "to guide colonial peoples along the road to self-government",[2] and mass education was seen as assisting this process.

The 1948 Despatch: The Need for Organisation

The experience being gained in mass education in Africa during the 1940's in which administrative officers were playing an increasing part, for example in the Eastern Province of Nigeria,[3] and in which, as in Ajeluku in the Teso District of Uganda,[4] the work was self-chosen by the members of local communities involving practical self-help measures in agriculture and health, only served to confirm the differences between mass education and the formal education system. Mass education thus had not been interpreted in the field as a concept which would unify all the strands of education, which is what the Advisory Committee had intended. Instead it became identified with adult literacy, fundamental adult education, and the ensuing local community projects.

Formal recognition of this development came in 1948 with the proposal at the Cambridge Summer Conference on African Administration that the term "community development" should be substituted for mass education. The Conference's definition of community development, now

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1 CO (1943), op.cit., Annexure, para.12.
2 Quoted in CO, Education for Citizenship in Africa, Col.No.216 (HMSO, 1948), p.5.
3 Notes on Mass Education, Eastern Province of Nigeria, Oversea Education, 18, 3, 1947, pp.517-522.
4 Notes on Rural Reconstruction and Education in Uganda, Oversea Education, 15, 1, 1943, p.25.

well-known, was:

> a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community, with the active participation and, if possible, on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement. Mass education embraces all forms of betterment. It includes the whole range of development activities in the districts, whether these are undertaken by Government or unofficial bodies; in the field of agriculture by securing the adoption of better methods of farming and better care of livestock; in the field of health by promoting better sanitation and water supplies, proper measures of hygiene and infant and maternity welfare; and in the field of education by spreading literacy and adult education as well as by the extension and improvement of schools for children. Mass education must make use of the co-operative movement and must be put into effect in the closest association with local government bodies.[1]

The term and the definition were accepted as official.[2]

The concepts of mass education had been too vague, its modus operandi has not been spelled out, and its support from central educational organisations had been too half-hearted. In practice the area of activity hitherto described as mass education, already distinguishable from formal education, was in 1948 further distinguished from formal adult education classes. Adult literacy work was to be considered merely part of the far wider whole, and staff engaged in such activity were not to be called Mass Education Officers.[3] The reduction of the term "social welfare" to indicate likewise part of the whole was also made clear. Personnel undertaking the wider mass education-community development function should not be called Social Welfare Officers, a term to be applied only to technical social welfare activities.[4]

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1 CO, The Encouragement of Initiative in African Society, Report of the Summer Conference on African Administration 1948, African No.1174 (unpublished), pp.101-102.
2 Circular Despatch, 1948, para.6.
3 Ibid., para.8.
4 Ibid.

In his firmly worded despatch the Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech Jones, had distilled the product of many years' thinking and field experience into a workable form which was to provide the basic pattern of community development for most African territories up to the time of their independence, and in several cases beyond that, though this might not be recognised by African nationals.[1] His proposals on organisation therefore merit quoting at length:

> Since it is accepted that mass education or community development covers all the development activities of governments in the districts, it follows that the planning and execution of programmes must be the responsibility of teams consisting of the administrative and technical officers working in the area concerned.... Wherever possible the provincial (or district) team should include one officer specialising in mass education or community development; who should, again wherever possible, have been specially trained for the purpose. He should have the title Community Development Officer and should form part of the Provincial (or District) Administration.[2] (Italics mine)

A major fork in this branching growth process had been reached with mass education-community development being firmly linked to the Provincial or District Administration. That this was at least as much a Colonial Office blessing of what had actually taken place as a proposal for the future is evidenced by the active interest which colonial administrators had taken in the new ideas at their first two post-war Summer Conferences on African Administration, in 1947 and 1948 respectively. British colonial administrators were traditionally pragmatic creatures, and one of the main reasons for their interest was that the practical possibilities of this new approach had been demonstrated for several years by members of their own branch of the service. E.R. Chadwick in Udi Division, Nigeria, for example,

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1 In a personal conversation with senior administrator of the Kenya Department of Community Development in December 1966, the writer was informed that community development had commenced there at the time of independence in 1963, although a programme had in fact existed since 1951.

2 Circular Despatch, 1948, para.5.

had been pioneering since the early 1940's.

Unlike most African colonies, Bechuanaland did not develop the district team approach, and only introduced consultative machinery for district development after the introduction of representative local government in 1966.[1] As far as the Colonial Office was concerned, however, "full and constructive" participation of local communities was essential for the success of community development programmes, not only in their execution but in planning as well. To achieve this "district community development committees and where appropriate committees covering smaller areas below them, should be established."[2] Tanganyika made extensive use of Development Committees at village as well as district level during the 1950's,[3] but it was not until the second half of the 1960's that a similar structure developed at all extensively in Botswana.[4]

The Despatch ended by urging that some central organisation was necessary, including at least a Commissioner of Community Development and a Central Council for Community Development without which the policy would not stand a good chance of success. These central arrangements were proposed to facilitate local operations rather than to control them. In Tanganyika, where community development was actively adopted, the paramountcy of local needs was emphasised to the extent that the organisational chart of community development operations was headed by the Village Development Committees, with the Commissioner of Community Development, Central Committee and Prime Minister at the

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1 Effective machinery for district development planning was not established until 1970. See below, p. 287-289.
2 Circular Despatch, 1948, para.9.
3 H. Bienen, Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development (Princeton University Press, 1967), pp.322-324.
4 See below, p.277 ff.

foot. To use a term which subsequently became a rather glib cliche, Tanganyika was emphasising "felt needs",[1] an emphasis to some extent in contrast with the "nation-building" ethic dominating Community Development Departments today which requires them to adopt a more directive approach.

The 1948 Summer Conference and Creech Jones' despatch envisaged mass education-community development as a function which was central to development policy. Indeed, it was to be the method for local development, a "local co-ordinated approach", and not to be the responsibility of any one department.[2] However, in practice this situation did not obtain for long in Africa, if at all. Departments of Community Development were set up, and they tended to develop their own range of activities in parallel to existing departments. This was partly because the status and ability of Community Development Officers was often insufficient to enable them to play an effective co-ordinating role with all agencies. Another reason was their need to be able to show results directly attributable to their efforts, which in turn necessitated the recruitment of specialist community development field staff.

Budgeting was to be done on a district or provincial basis, that is to say by area, and was to be distinct from the normal departmental estimates which were arranged by subject such as education or agriculture. The type of work to be planned and supported was as yet not limited to the distinctive self-help activities which later became one of the hall-marks of community development programmes. Thus even as

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1 CO, Community Development: A Handbook (HMSO, 1958), pp.23-24.

2 Circular Despatch, 1948, paras.8-11.

late as 1954 the Domasi Community Development Scheme in Nyasaland covered the whole range of government services, and would today be known as a Regional Development Project. Notwithstanding this broad approach, in fact the boundaries laid out undoubtedly pointed towards a distinctive character for community development activities. District budgeting should include all services which were neither the responsibility of local authorities, nor territorial rather than district, nor so highly specialised that they would require central administration and supervision.[2] The first stipulation put the emphasis on development works rather than on maintenance services, and also on projects requiring interdepartmental co-operation, since local authorities, like central government, tended to operate according to departmental divisions; the second indicated that they were to be local; and the third pointed to their "do-it-yourself" nature. This last feature was later refined into a more positive doctrine of placing "the greatest possible reliance on local resources",[3] a recent manifestation of this doctrine being intermediate technology.[4]

Two of the threads running through these arrangements had been given prominence by Phelps-Stokes nearly 30 years before, and had since been recurring themes in Colonial policy: the need for co-ordinated programming, and emphasis on the local area. The United Nations and independent African governments also commonly preach the gospel of co-ordination.[5] However, it is one thing to proclaim the

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1 Nyasaland Protectorate Government, Domasi Community Development Scheme, compiled by T.D. Thomson, 1956, para.3.
2 Circular Despatch, 1948, para.12.
3 See UN, Social Progress Through Community Development (New York, 1956), pp.8-14.
4 See for example, Bulletin No.2 of the Intermediate Technology Development Group (London, 1968).
5 See UN, Handbook of Public Administration (New York, 1961), p.94, and Republic of Kenya, African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya (Nairobi, 1965), p.49.

desirability of co-ordination and another to practice it consistently on a wide front and at different levels. This has proved one of the most intractable problems in development administration, as the repreated stress upon it testifies. It would appear that some of the success in co-ordinated planning achieved recently in independent African countries has been at the expense of the second theme. More and more local preferences and peculiarities have to give way to centrally-decided national goals. An example of this greater orientation towards national requirements can be found in the context of Creech Jones' proposal to have block financial provision controlled by District Committees to use for grants to stimulate particular projects.[1] Concerned that local areas might sponsor projects which did not fit in with national plans, independent governments have evolved bureaucratic procedures to ensure that central government retains control.[2] In this situation, a form of the law of diminishing returns operates: where the control becomes too close, lack of spontaneity and even apathy on the part of the local people may result.

Creech Jones left the Governors of African territories in no doubt as to their responsibilities. Governments were to address themselves to the practical problems of community development, which would necessarily require re-organisation of government machinery and re-allocation of finance. He requested a report within three months on the action being taken, and in keeping with the local field emphasis of the new policy, and perhaps to prevent central secretariats from shirking its main implications, he requested that, unless there was any objection,

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1 Circular Despatch, 1948, para.13.
2 Republic of Kenya, op.cit., p.36.

his despatch be circulated to all administrative and technical officers in the field.[1]

Two aspects of this evolution of colonial policy deserve mention before we consider their effects in Africa and particularly Bechuanaland during the same period. In the first place, it is evident that community development shared common inseparable roots with adult education up to and including the 1939-45 War. This may be contrasted with the growth of community organisation and community development in North America, for example, which had their main origins in social work.

The second aspect concerns the organisational orientation and focus of the evolving policy. The war is seen as a watershed in this regard. Until that time the ideas had been centred on and to some extent grew from the educational system. Basic to the 1925 and 1935 Memoranda was the belief that although many agencies would be involved in the new policy, at the centre would be the Education Department and other educational institutions. By the end of the 1930's the beginnings of a different orientation became discernible. Policies in fields such as nutrition and social welfare were making use of mass education concepts, and it was no longer automatically assumed that Education Departments would be playing the central role or that existing schools and colleges would be the main vehicles for implementation. We have already noted a measure of internal conflict in the 1943 Memorandum between the broad conceptual framework of an integrated educational system and the action proposals.[2] By the same token that the 1925 and 1935 Memoranda lacked impact because they did not contain

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1 Circular Despatch, 1948, para.18.
2 See above, p.67 .

specific plans of action, the lines of action proposed in the 1943 Memorandum had more impact in the field than did the general philosophy expressed. The substitution in 1948 of the term "community development" for "mass education" reflected the general recognition that the organisational and administrative characteristics of the movement could no longer be adequately confined within a purely educational conceptualisation.

From Ideas to Implementation: Response in Africa to the 1948 Despatch

Since the correspondence between the Colonial Office and the African territories following the 1948 Despatch is not yet available for public viewing, it is not possible to discuss comprehensively the reaction to the Despatch in Africa. Such information as is available, however, shows that in the main the African governments did respond actively to the proposals. Within a few years the East African territories, as well as the Gold Coast (Ghana), Nigeria and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) had adopted community development as official policy and had made appropriate administrative arrangements. Other countries, such as Sierra Leone, were prepared to experiment with the new approach.

In the Gold Coast a nation-wide mass literacy and education campaign was launched in 1952 as the responsibility of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development.[1] Within the Department there was a Division of Mass Education and Community Development,[2] the division being assisted by an Advisory Committee on Mass Education and Community Development which approximated to Creech Jones' Central Council.[3]

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1 Gold Coast Government, Plan for Mass Literacy and Mass Education, 1951.
2 Gold Coast Government, Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development 1954, Appendix.
3 See above, p. 73.

The early emphasis on mass literacy as a major function of community development continued well into the independence era, and indeed this emphasis was carried over into the community development training programme at the University of Manchester organised by Peter du Sautoy, who from 1952 to 1961 was Director of Social Welfare and Community Development in Ghana.[1]

These two features of the Ghana pattern, the establishment of a national level department with its own field hierarchy, and the position of mass literacy as a sine qua non of community development, were echoed during the 1950's and 1960's in most of the other African territories. Yet this was not what the 1948 Cambridge Conference and Creech Jones' despatch had envisaged: that community development would be a central feature of colonial policy, that responsibility for it should not be confined to one department, and that specific activities such as mass literacy, which should be organised by Education Departments, were only part of a much wider approach. In terms of today's concepts, Creech Jones' policy would be better described as co-ordinated and integrated local development. In practice, community development did not prove to be a suitable vehicle for achieving this co-ordination, and even in those countries which initially attempted to use it in this way it fairly soon became identified as a special activity of government rather than a method of administration.

It was in 1952 also that Uganda adopted community development as an all-territorial policy.[2] At this initial stage it followed closely the wide ranging Creech Jones approach, embracing "all aspects of

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1 Notes on Diploma in Community Development Course, Department of Adult Education, Manchester University, 1966.

2 UN, Economic and Social Council, International Survey of Programmes of Social Development (New York, 1957), Document E/CN.5/301, p.27.

Government activity ... a modern concept of administration."[1] Since local people's participation was an objective of the policy it was essential to apply community development through local government bodies,[2] a logical enough approach which has nevertheless often proved difficult in practice, partly because of common inefficiencies in local government and partly because of the desire of national governments to remain firmly in control. By 1955, "Community effort" had become the foremost feature of Ugandan community development, a priority that was also emerging independently in other territories. This effort was appreciated more on economic grounds than ideological, it would seem, since the doubling of local authorities' expenditure on local projects "is fair evidence that community effort has doubled,"[3] the approval of projects being based upon a stipulated contribution by local communities.

Such concern with communal activity may be contrasted with the concern for the development of the individual and his relation to society which was so much in evidence in the philosophy of the 1925, 1935 and 1943 Memoranda. How far this contrast is real or illusory cannot be decided with any great certainty since it touches upon two perennially controversial questions. In the first place, to what extent is the progress of the individual achievable through the progress of the community, and what balance between them is struck by any given programme? There is evidence that in Botswana at least, and by extension in other African countries, there are serious difficulties in achieving consistency here. The second question concerns the degree

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1 Uganda Government, Governor's Despatch 490/52 of 22 July 1952.
2 UN, (1957), op.cit., p.32.
3 Annual Report on the Uganda Protectorate 1955, p.74.

to which community development is to be measured in terms of material achievement only. There is no clear answer. Community development literature has commonly stressed its social and spiritual dividends, yet in developing countries such dividends may seem empty unless based on some material progress. Current emphasis on economic development in the Third World, of course, puts pressure on community development bodies to demonstrate their contribution in economic terms.

The Governor of Sierra Leone's reply to Creech Jones' despatch also highlights general issues. As befits a Governor, he ignored the Colonial Secretary's request for an answer within three months but in his own good time he delivered his reasoned view.[1] He supported the Colonial Secretary in the main but like most Governors he had his own opinions. One was akin to more modern community development practice. He considered that the first thing to do was to "experiment, and only when experiments have yielded experience will it be necessary or desirable to review policy,"[2] an approach recalling the earlier Advisory Committee proposals for pilot projects, and which was in keeping with the traditional pragmatism of British colonial administrators. He was further of the opinion that "the setting up of a hierarchy in community development would, I fear, cause unnecessary delay and hamper rather than facilitate the work of the officers in the field."[3] Bearing in mind the global, all-embracing concept of community development which Creech Jones had proposed, the Governor's logic was sound here. At any rate, taking the African territories *en bloc*, there appears to have been during the 1950's a distinct correlation between the growth of

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1 Sierra Leone Government, Governor's Despatch No.86 of 16 June 1949.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*

bureaucratic structures and hierarchies for community development on the one hand, and a narrowing of the scope of operations on the other, with certain functions such as youth work, social welfare and adult literacy becoming accepted as the specialisations of community development.

There was no lack of seriousness in the Sierra Leone Government's approach to community development, and it took the trouble to produce a pamphlet the following year, written by the Chief Commissioner of the Provincial Administration,[1] which itself illustrates how initiative in the field of community development had moved from the educationist to the administrator.[2] At the time of publication Provincial Community Development Committees had already been established and had received block grants from central government, initially of £5,000 each, to enable them to sponsor local development projects, the only conditions being that the local authority should be responsible for the satisfactory completion and maintenance of the projects, and that there must be an "appreciable local contribution."[3]

Designed to explain the meaning of community development to the people of the territory, the pamphlet was itself laced with the ambiguities which have continually dogged the subject. In reality community development was "as old as the hills", yet it was "a new approach"; government was to take the initiative, yet it was to be a popular movement; it was to "fill the gaps of Government provision", yet it was "not a sop for the real thing":[4] though this "real thing" remained undefined. The effect of such ambivalence on the inhabitants of Sierra

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1 H. Childs, Community Development (Freetown: Government Printer, 1950)
2 See above, p.72 ff.
3 Childs, op.cit., p.2.
4 Ibid., p.1.

Leone is of less concern to the present study than the illustration of a looseness of definition which has always been characteristic of community development, a looseness that despite obvious drawbacks, has given community development the flexibility to adapt to a very wide range of situations.[1]

One further point of general application is illustrated by the publication of this pamphlet. It was a genuine attempt to put across the philosophy of community development to the Sierra Leone population at large. The mental gap which the pamphlet attempted to bridge was wide: between the philosophy of a highly educated committee in London on the one hand, and the mental state of Africans living for the most part in pre-industrial society on the other. The problem of communication involved in such an exercise is obviously enormous, though to keep some perspective it should be remembered that there may also be such problems, perhaps not so extreme but more complex because of their latent nature, between an urban community worker in Britain with his "non-directive" approach on the one hand, and his "clients" in a depressed district on the other. This in a community development project in Glasgow, the democratic aspect of the project considered absolutely vital by the community workers collapsed on account of communication failure.[2] Put in crude terms, the goals and the contextual framework of community development programmes are often far removed from the goals and mental horizons of the people being affected by those programmes. It would seem unlikely that Childs' pamphlet was grasped as he intended it to be by ordinary citizens: apart from the

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1 See P. Wass, "Community Development: A Cure-All?", Social Service Quarterly, 43, 2, 1969, pp.53-56.
2 G. Noble, "In Defence of Easterhouse", New Society, 20 August 1970, p.329.

internal ambiguities, the philosophy was too involved and remote from local personal experience and the medium itself was unsuitable for its purpose. This raises a major issue. What the policy-makers, administrators and academics may discuss at a high level of abstraction has little in common with the practical ways in which villagers can be "involved". The simplification of the community development message which took place in Africa in the 1950's reflected an implicit recognition of this communication gap.

It is when apologists of community development are unaware of the implications of this communication gap that they lay the subject open to the charge that its claims grossly exceed its achievements. The unnamed author of a British Government publicity pamphlet, published in 1962, had either never experienced what the practical manifestations of community development in African villages were, or had forgotten them:

> It is ... agreed by most authorities [unnamed] that community development is of value not only for the material benefits it confers, not only for the fuller intellectual and spiritual life that it brings in its train, but also as a stepping-stone to democratic self-government as it is understood by the western world.[1]

It was a familiarity with such high-flown phraseology that caused the down-to-earth District Officer in Bechuanaland, on hearing the phrase "community development", to groan, "Oh no! We had all that ten years ago in Uganda."[2] He could hardly be blamed. Although the "stepping-stone to independence" phase is now fortunately passed, raised here is an issue still quite hotly debated concerning the polarity between the physical-material and social-political focuses in community development, and between the individual and the community focuses, an issue

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1 COI, Community Development: The British Contribution (HMSO, 1962), p.23.
2 Personal discussion with District Officer, Mahalapye, 1964.

which is pertinent to the Botswana case.

For purposes of practical implementation in British Africa, community development at its core conveyed one basic and simple concept: self-help. Indeed, when francophone countries became interested in community development, it was often found most convenient to refer to it as "le self-help".[1] In the early 1960's, by which time community development had had plenty of time to develop, it was admitted that practically everywhere it had found expression in the construction of community projects, with local labour being the predominant feature.[2] It is interesting to note that when community development gathered momentum in Botswana in the late 1960's in an <u>independent</u> country as opposed to the 1950's expansion elsewhere in Africa which was in <u>colonial</u> territories, the same main practical expression occurred, with the modification that local contributions were often in the form of communally subscribed funds as well as in the provision of labour. The fact that different African countries moved independently to a similar position, admittedly from common colonial origins, indicates that the character of the economic, social, political and educational institutional backgrounds of these countries necessitated, as far as village development was concerned, a process of "whittling down" community development concepts from the philosophical and abstract to the practical and concrete. Villagers are mainly concerned with physical things such as roads and water supplies, and even relatively crude achievements technologically may be highly valued.[3] Critics of

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1 The phrase was still in common use by French-speaking delegates at the FAO Young World Food and Development Conference, Toronto, September, 1967.
2 COI, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.28.
3 Mason, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp.5-6.

the apparently "simple" community development work in many parts of Africa would do well to become better acquainted with this process and background before passing judgment.

In Nigeria there was active pioneering work in the 1940's and early 1950's. As instigator of the project which was subsequently filmed as "Daybreak in Udi", E.R. Chadwick, an administrative officer who may be considered the doyen in the field at the time, had considerable influence on community development practice in British Africa.[1] Reporting on the programme which he directed in the Eastern Provinces, he succinctly stated his central principle which underlines the comments in the above paragraph: "I have ... constantly kept in mind that idealism is of little value in Community Development unless it can be related to practice."[2]

The process by which community development was moving further from education towards administration was also pinpointed sharply by Chadwick, who in characteristically forceful style, concluded:

> In one sentence, the District Officer under Local Government /referring to the introduction of elected local authorities/ will be the Community Development Officer, or as he has been called "the architect of civilisation."[3]

The final clause, which in today's political climate shrieks of Western paternalism, should not be allowed to cloud the main point of the statement concerning the role of the administrator in community development. Chadwick's subsequent experience gave him no reason to alter his view.[4]

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1 Ibid.
2 Eastern Provinces of Nigeria, Report on Community Development, by E.R. Chadwick (Enugu, 1951), para.14.
3 Ibid., para.13.
4 Personal discussion with E.R. Chadwick, Botswana, November-December 1964.

The administrators in the Eastern Provinces, however, were by no means unaware of political implications. The Chief Commissioner, discussing Chadwick's report, emphasised that:

> It is only against the background of present day political progress that the real importance of Community Development comes into true relief.[1]

This was consonant with the findings of a commission of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee concerning education and adult education in the context of increasing self-government.[2] However, such views were by no means universal in British Africa, and the disparity which could exist in the interpretation of community development is illustrated by the clear distinction drawn by the Chief Provincial Commissioner of Sierra Leone:

> the growth of district councils as local government bodies ... is something altogether different from the community development movement which as far as possible must keep outside the arena of politics.[3]

Although Sierra Leone was the most categorical in its official view, it was not the only territory that made such a distinction. Although in most countries community development was recognised as being relevant to progress towards self-government, it was not conceived as being to any marked degree a vehicle for political expression as it has been in western industrialised countries. Rather the reverse, in fact, as in Kenya where one of the principal efforts of the Community Development Organisation in 1951 was "to direct their [the communities'] energies to constructive ends rather than merely to the political platform."[4] This rather moralising concern for what was deemed to be

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1 Eastern Provinces of Nigeria, op.cit., Foreword by J.C. Pyke-Nott, Chief Commissioner.
2 CO, Education for Citizenship in Africa, Col.No.216 (HMSO, 1948).
3 Childs, op.cit., p3.
4 Government of Kenya, Annual Report of the Community Development Organisation 1951, p.3.

"desirable" for the people reflected a traditional, though already obsolescent, interpretation of colonial administration similar to the "architect of civilisation" concept expressed by Chadwick in Nigeria.

In Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), as in Sierra Leone, community development in the early 1950's was a topic of such concern that a booklet was published, though no attempt was made, nor presumably consideration given, to put it into a form suitable for general public consumption.[1] The Governor sent to the Colonial Secretary a detailed report on community development activities in Northern Rhodesia, though there was at the time neither a Community Development Department nor any professional community development workers. Field organisation was based on Provincial and Area Teams and the activities listed covered the entire range of development services, including agriculture, roads, postal services, health services, forestry, tsetse fly control and housing.[2] It is difficult, if not impossible, to discover any features in this programme which distinguish it as community development rather than local development. Subsequently the pattern changed in accordance with the general trend towards narrowing of activities[3] and the Commissioner of Rural Development, who as a "one-man team" sponsored community development in rural areas, became the Commissioner of Community Development with a department of full-time community development staff.[4]

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1 Government of Northern Rhodesia, Correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor of Northern Rhodesia (Lusaka, 1953).
2 Governor of Northern Rhodesia's Despatch No.1105 of 5 December 1952, to Secretary of State.
3 See above, p.82.
4 Personal discussion with J. Keigwin, formerly Commissioner of Community Development, Northern Rhodesia.

The 1950's and 1960's: Consolidation, Expansion and Diversity

The momentum initiated by the 1948 Despatch was maintained in most African territories during the 1950's, but to the extent that the initiative in policy changes was progressively moving from the Colonial Office to the individual countries themselves as they built up their own experience, subsequent developments are of less direct concern to the Botswana case and may therefore be summarised fairly briefly.

Doubts about several aspects of community development certainly existed in the minds of colonial governments,[1] but nevertheless by the early 1950's it was widely accepted as government policy in British Africa. Although the District Administration was in many cases effectively responsible for promoting the work there was a growing awareness of the need to have specialists in community development activities. The "technique of winning the co-operation and help of local communities" was not sufficiently understood, and it was felt that the introduction of training programmes both for full-time community development officers as well as other categories of people, both officials and non-officials, would be instrumental in effecting improvements.[2]

At the Colonial Office, the committee structure was re-organised. The Committee on Mass Education (Community Development) had for some years been concerned with three particular features of community development: remedial social welfare work; development planning; and the political aspirations of local peoples.[3] In order to avoid

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1 UN, Methods and Techniques of Community Development in the United Kingdom Dependent and Trust Territories, prepared by S. Milburn (New York, 1954), pp.28-31.

2 CO, Memorandum on the Basis of the Mass Education (Community Development) Committee's Review of Community Development, paper enclosed with Colonial Secretary's Despatch 264/52 of 19 March 1952 to all Colonial Governors.

3 COI, op.cit., p.7.

possible ambiguities in policy therefore, the Committee was merged with the Social Welfare Advisory Committee in 1953 to form one Advisory Committee on Social Development in the Colonies. It was felt there would thus be less danger of the concept of community development being isolated from the pattern of social development.[1] The new committee's terms of reference included social welfare, community development, co-operation of voluntary agencies, and "the training of social workers and community development staff".[2] This grouping of responsibilities reflected a trend which continued strongly for the next decade. In August 1954 the Committee held a conference on social development at Ashridge in Hertfordshire which recommended that social welfare and community development should be put together in the same department,[3] as was already the case in the Gold Coast.[4] Other countries such as Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika subsequently made the same arrangement. This close association of community development with social welfare was certainly not a new idea for it had been mentioned in the 1943 Memorandum,[5] but had subsequently been overshadowed by the dynamic manner in which the administrative officers had embraced mass education.

The build-up of experience in Africa proceeded rapidly and by the same year as the Ashridge Conference had attracted sufficient international attention to cause the Secretary-General of the United Nations to request an analytical study of community development in British Territories.[6] There was much pioneering with new approaches during

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1 UN (1954), op.cit., p.37.
2 Ibid., p.38.
3 CO, Social Development in the British Colonial Territories, Unpublished Report of the Ashridge Conference on Social Development, 3-12 August 1954, Misc.No.523 (HMSO, 1954).
4 COI, op.cit., p.9.
5 See above, p.67.
6 UN(1954), op.cit.

the 1950's, and individual countries became identified with particular contributions: Uganda with "Demonstration Teams"; Kenya with multi-purpose training, the self-help programme, and "Maendeleo ya Wanawake" (women's movement); Tanganyika with literacy as an entry point to village development; and Northern Rhodesia with Development Area Schools.[1] Probably most influential of all was Ghana, which first developed a full-scale national organisation for community development, an action which established a major "image" for community development in Africa.[2]

By 1957 a vast amount of practical knowledge had been amassed, and in order to attempt some kind of a synthesis, mainly for training purposes, the Colonial Office organised a study conference near Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, for experienced people from seventeen territories. The product of their labour was a concentrated summary of principles and practice drawn from a wide variety of contexts, which became an authoritative document.[3] Many of the principles enunciated are still valid in terms of sound social development administration, though details of organisation and professional duties have naturally dated.

Ghana became the first African country to achieve its independence in 1957, and with others following suit in the next few years Britain's influence on African community development, as of course on Africa as a whole, steadily shrank. The interest of the United Nations had been given a strong boost by Milburn's study, and in 1956 came the first major statement of the United Nations approach to community development.[4]

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1 Mason, op.cit., p.7.
2 Ibid., p.8.
3 CO, Community Development: A Handbook (HMSO, 1958).
4 UN, Social Progress through Community Development (New York, 1956).

Thus as the influence of the United Nations on community development in Africa, and indeed in developing countries generally, grew, so Britain's declined.

Although the Mass Education Memorandum in 1943 was considered by some to be the starting point "for community development as an arm of government policy,"[1] its real origins were already over twenty years old. The principles and aims advocated by the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and more particularly the 1925 Memorandum are still largely valid and "have been responsible for a remarkable unity of intention in a bewildering variety of conditions".[2] Bechuanaland was only marginally part of this unity, and we must now examine how and why this was so.

Bechuanaland: Reactions to the Colonial Office Initiatives

We have seen that much of the policy advocated in the 1935 Memorandum coincided with the development of ideas about education in Bechuanaland, the latter being mainly due to the efforts of the Director of Education, whose experience and observation in the field had led him to conclusions similar to those of the Advisory Committee. Oddly enough, considering the encouraging amount of relevant action in the territory, the 1935 Memorandum itself had generated remarkably little discussion.[3] The 1943 Memorandum, however, led to a great deal of official discussion and correspondence; so much so that the detailed

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1 CO (1958), op.cit., p.1.
2 UN (1954), op.cit., p.3.
3 The first reference to the 1935 Memorandum appears on page 3 of the relevant Mafeking file, but by page 8 discussion has already moved on to a Colonial Office memorandum on the Education and Welfare of Women and Girls in Africa, African No.1169 dated February 1943. BNA 364/1, vol.1., pp.3-8.

sequence of communications is difficult to follow. What is evident is that the Colonial Office was anxious to make a real impact with its mass education policy, and that this sense of urgency did manage to communicate itself to the top administrators in the Southern African High Commission Territories. But as in the previous phase statements of intent far outstripped performance, and doubtless had these administrators been politicians answerable to an articulate public, they would have been accused of creating a major "credibility gap".

The efficacy of radio broadcasting, and its ability to transform traditional communication patterns, is highlighted by the first mention in the government records of the 1943 Memorandum. In January 1944, at his station nearly 300 miles away from Mafeking, the District Commissioner, Serowe, had listened to a BBC programme which discussed the Memorandum. He wasted no time in requesting a copy from the Director of Education, who was unable to oblige: understandably, since the report had only been released in England a few days before.[1] The District Commissioner's realisation, evidenced by this prompt action, that this was something of very considerable importance and relevance for him[2] illustrates the general tendency by this time[3] for members of the district administration to take the initiative in mass education. He was followed fairly shortly in his request by the District Commissioners at Mochudi, Kanye and Molepolole.

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1 BNA 364/1, vol.1, pp.12-15.
2 In fact the BBC Programme took the form of an interview with a Nigerian studying music in Britain: at face value apparently of little direct concern to a colonial administrator.

Copies of the Memorandum were received by the Bechuanaland Administration in March 1944, and a considerable amount of correspondence ensued with the High Commissioner and between the three High Commission Territories discussing various aspects of the Memorandum and emphasising its importance. The High Commissioner's Office in Capetown made it clear that mass education was an absolutely central matter, going so far as to say that "the questions raised ... affect all post war education,"[1] and requesting the Resident Commissioner's comments and recommendations for mass education as applied to the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Predictably, Dumbrell received the Memorandum enthusiastically and, treating the matter as urgent, recommended a meeting of the High Commission Territories' Education Directors to plan detailed implementation. In a manner that would seem to be intuitive rather than scientific, he was however cautious about the apparent assumption that mass education would automatically turn out to be a local voluntary effort, easy to graft on to traditional African community organisation:

> The biggest task will be to "enthuse" the literate Africans themselves, so that they will be willing to do voluntary work among their own people for the intangible rewards of service to their fellow men rather than for the tangible rewards of cash payments for services rendered.[2]

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1 Minute from HC's Office, Capetown to CS, Mafeking, 3 April 1944, which for good measure included copies of correspondence on the matter between Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State, and Sir Henry Moore, Governor of Kenya. BNA 364/1, vol1, p.17. This was one of the ways in which views expressed by senior officials in more "advanced" Colonial Office territories could be transmitted to the Administrations of the High Commission Territories, which, it will be remembered, were administered at this time not by the Colonial Office but by the Commonwealth Relations Office.

2 DE to CS, Mafeking, 6 May 1944. BNA 364/1, vol1, p.20.

Dumbrell's comment draws attention to the tendency in British colonial policy to expect even higher standards of personal service to the "common weal" on the part of colonial peoples than were expected of British citizens in Britain. The nature of traditional subsistence society as well as the history of voluntary social service in Britain lend support to the view that such an expectation was double unrealistic.[1] Literacy work, for example, not only in Bechuanaland but in other African countries commonly experienced great difficulty in obtaining the regular voluntary service of instructors.

The outcome of internal discussion was that the Bechuanaland Government took the official view that mass education should be able to break down conservatism which was retarding development. Activities should concentrate on agriculture. It was realised that, since the Education Department could not manage mass education in addition to its existing functions, the creation of a new government department would be necessary.[2]

In September 1944 a Conference of the Education Officers of the High Commission Territories was held in Johannesburg to discuss the Memorandum, which they warmly welcomed. The record of their deliberations however is, in view of the radical nature of the proposals, remarkably devoid of any discussion of the question "why?" in relation to the advocacy of mass literacy and the community movement. Their prime worry was how to create a demand for "mass improvement": the answer would be, they thought, in "wide and effective propaganda". Great

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1 See Myrdal (1968), op.cit., pp.56-57.
2 Minute from GS, Mafeking to HC's Office, Pretoria, 22 May 1944. BNA 364/1, p.22. It was proposed here that Dumbrell, shortly to retire, should be made Director of Mass Education for the three High Commission Territories. Dumbrell himself, however, has no recollection of the proposal, which he would have accepted had an offer been made. Personal communication from H.J.E. Dumbrell, 23 October 1970.

importance was attached to the role of a newspaper, high hopes being pinned on the recently introduced Naledi ya Batswana, as well as to libraries, suitable literature, local markets and radio. The first step would be the appointment of an officer for each territory, whose task was clearly spelt out by the conference.[1] His remit was to be wide: it was to include co-ordinated planning with all government departments and other appropriate bodies, and was to entail, specifically, the involvement of African leaders and organisations. When an officer was subsequently appointed in Bechuanaland, however, it was not with these duties.[2] Of particular interest, since it illustrates the theme, already evident in this study, of new proposals going into "cold storage" for many years before being implemented, was the proposal from Basutoland to institute a system of National Service. The proposal cited the United States' Country Conservation Corps as a model, and contained many elements which emerged in national youth services in several African countries during the 1960's. Marked similarities can be seen in the proposals for a Lesotho Youth Service in 1967-68.[3]

Progress was very slow, and it was four months before the Resident Commissioner indicated his general agreement with the Education Officers' conclusions. He was by no means sanguine in his comments on their suggestions, not because of any doubts on matters of theory but because his experience had tended to emphasise the practical difficulties of implementing such ideas, in particular where public

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1 See Appendix II (p.396).
2 See below, p.112 ff.
3 Record of Proceedings of Conference of Education Officers of the HCT held at Johannesburg, 5-8 September 1944. BNA 364/1, vol.i, p.30 ff.

response was involved. His detailed notes are not of great interest in the context of the present study since, as will be seen, the mass education proposals were drastically curtailed by the time that action was initiated. His did, however, take the opportunity of expressing surprise that the Education Officers had overlooked the cinema, "one of the most valuable agents" for mass education and welfare work.[1] This curiously exaggerated judgment was reflected soon afterwards when mobile cinema vans were provided for welfare work.

Cinema was only one topic which prompted reference to "the Welfare Officer" (yet to be appointed): references which are the first indication of the pattern that subsequently emerged. The post was in fact established shortly afterwards and an incumbent found,[2] though there is on record very little discussion of the nature of the post at this time. By contrast, despite voluminous and time-consuming discussions and correspondence, a mass education organisation did not materialise, nor was a Director of Mass Education ever appointed. A link between the two posts appeared a little later when the meeting of the Directors of Education of the High Commission Territories firmly recommended that each territory should have a Mass Education and Welfare Officer who should have the status of Head of Department.[3] This decision of the meeting, at which the chairman was Sir Fred Clarke, a member of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, appears to have been at odds with the views of the High Commissioner, Sir Evelyn Baring, who reported that Sir Fred Clarke had realised the recommendations of the Memorandum could not be implemented due to lack of funds.[4] The

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1 Minute from HC to CS, 5 January 1945. BNA 364/1, vol.1, p.41.
2 See below, p.113.
3 Minutes of meeting of Directors of Education of the High Commission Territories, Maseru, Basutoland, 4 May 1945. BNA 2327/12, pp.1-5.
4 HC to Colonial Secretary, 29 November 1945. BNA 364/1, vol.1, p.51.

attitude of those responsible for policy formulation could at best be considered ambivalent. Voluntary community effort was stressed together with the development of local initiative; but at the same time the successful implementation of national service schemes, which were envisaged as part and parcel of mass education, would depend on the readiness of the people to accept the orders of the chieftainship.[1]

During 1945 the discussion in official circles continued, though there appears to have been virtually no consultation with, nor reaction from, local leaders and members of the public despite earlier suggestions that a simple version of the Memorandum in Setswana be widely distributed. The only Motswana to be consulted, as far as the record shows, was Tshekedi Khama, undoubtedly the most influential personality in the country,[2] and "probably the most intelligent, enlightened and determined chief in Africa".[3] His comments could not have inspired much confidence amongst the officials:

> I understand nothing that has been written by the Colonial Office on mass education, and nothing within the Protectorate plan .... Let us place an African in charge and he and I will then have ideas for which I will obtain tribal support. In the meantime do not expect me to show enthusiasm or appreciation.[4]

It is not surprising that official enthusiasm began to wane and that there was a growing concern with the problems attendant on a programme rather than the benefits to be gained. The only new factor was the optimism engendered by the apparent revelation to European officials

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1 Conference of Directors of Education, Maseru, 4 May 1945. BNA 2327/12, pp.1-5.
2 See S.M. Gabatshwane, Tshekedi Khama of Bechuanaland (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1961) and Mary Benson, Tshekedi Khama (London: Faber, 1960).
3 Margery Perham, "The Banishment of Tshekedi", Letter to The Times, 29 May 1951, p.23 quoted in her book Colonial Sequence 1949-1969 (London: Methuen, 1970).
4 Reported in a letter from H. Jowitt, DE to CS, 9 January 1946. BNA 2327/12, p.6.

that sterling qualities were demonstrated by Africans in the Army. But apart from this one glimmer of hope, the tendency was towards pessimism as the realisation dawned that the achievement of the situation envisaged by the Memorandum would require resources, both human and financial, far beyond the means of Territory.

Towards the end of 1945 the matter came quietly but peremptorily to a head. Quite simply, funds were short and when it came to the point of allocation adult education was given a low premium: provision would be made from funds remaining over from children's education. Needless to say the effect of this was the elimination of mass education plans altogether.[1] The other two territories came to the same conclusion,[2] and nearly two years, several conferences and much discussion after their receipt of the 1943 Memorandum, the High Commission Territories admitted defeat. That the High Commissioner, in the very despatch that brought down the curtain on mass education in Southern Africa, should reveal, like the Bechuanaland Resident Commissioner, a dogged faith in film shows by requesting more cinematographic apparatus, may seem to the modern reader a trifle whimsical.[3]

Subsequent discussion of a draft application for Colonial Development and Welfare Funds to cover Mass Education and Welfare Plans 1946-1956[4] seems to have been rather superfluous therefore. However, it does have some bearing on and relevance to later events. The initially proposed title of "Director of Mass Education" was rejected in favour of "Social Welfare Organiser" or "Chief Social Welfare Officer". Mass

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1 Minute by HC, 9 October 1945. BNA 364/1.
2 Conference of Resident Commissioners, Pretoria 13-16 November 1945. BNA 8425, p.55.
3 Despatch from HC, Sir Evelyn Baring, to Colonial Secretary, 29 November 1945. BNA 364/1, p.51.
4 Prepared by Dumbrell before he retired in late 1945.

education and welfare work were regarded, if not as synonymous, as naturally falling under the same executive director.[1] Before the 1939 war there had been an Organising Secretary for Youth Movements,[2] whose post was abolished as an economy measure. After the war, when plans were being made for welfare work,[3] the role of welfare officer was seen at least partly as a revival of the Organising Secretary's work. The war-time Welfare Officer, who had been working amongst the Pioneer Corps dealing largely with personal welfare matters, had a decreasing role now that most soldiers were demobilised, and it was felt that a suitably trained man could handle the welfare function as well as youth work.[4] Also included in the job would be the promotion of social and cultural clubs, which organisations themselves would provide vehicles for mass education.[5] Thus the post would be "a nucleus for co-ordinating Mass Education (Welfare) activities when funds become available."[6] (Italics mine)

One further point is significant in relation to the development of welfare work. The meetings in 1945, both of Directors of Education and of Resident Commissioners, had been quite decided that notwithstanding the outcome of budgetary proposals, and regardless of whether his title emphasised "mass education" or "welfare", the person appointed to organise the work must have the status of a head of department, and

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1 Letter from GS, Mafeking, to HC's Office, 24 January 1946. BNA 364/1, p.52.
2 Comprising the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and their African counterparts, the Pathfinders and Wayfarers.
3 The Colonial Office, it will be remembered, was pursuing an active policy in this regard.
4 Letter from RC, A.D. Forsyth Thompson, to HC's Office, 2 July 1946. BNA 2327/12, p.15.
5 Notes dated 9 October 1945, BNA 364/1, vol.1.
6 Minute from DE to RC, July 1946. BNA 2327/12, p.16.

be responsible to the Resident Commissioner himself.[1] When the welfare appointment was made in 1947, its status had been drastically reduced.[2] A somewhat analogous situation occurred some eighteen years later when a similar recommendation was ignored or rejected.[3] The fact that welfare-mass education in the first instance, and community development in the second, were not accorded the status recommended by appropriate committees or commissions prompts the conclusion that the potential and requirements of mass education and community development were not adequately appreciated by the Bechuanaland Administration. This failure prevented implementation of mass education in the first case, and in the second severely restricted the scope of community development.

Response to the 1948 and Subsequent Despatches

If the 1943 Memorandum generated a spate of discussion and soul-searching in Bechuanaland which finally fizzled out like a damp squib, Creech Jones' 1948 Despatch did not even receive serious consideration. The evidence from the government files is that few, if any, officials actually read the despatch. Unlike the 1935 and 1943 situations, there was no request for additional copies to distribute to key officials and leaders; and Dumbrell, who might have been expected to have taken a positive line, was now in retirement. In more general ways Bechuanaland was still away from the mainstream of colonial development in Africa. The Administration had made little effort to make use of the annual colonial administrative conferences held in

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1 BNA 364/1, pp.52-54.
2 See below, p.114-115.
3 See below, p.368 ff.

Cambridge. At the 1948 Conference, although there were some 70 delegates from British African dependencies, there was not a single representative from Bechuanaland.[1] Its subject was "The Encouragement of Initiative in African Society" and it formed the basis for the 1948 despatch. Had someone from Bechuanaland attended the conference there would have been at least one person in the Administration who appreciated that what was being proposed was not a luxury but a practical approach towards the whole process of development. Had this been the case it is difficult to believe that the unfavourable reactions of the Director of Education and others would have been accepted so uncritically.

If the Bechuanaland Administration was not being active in participating in Colonial Office activities the Colonial Office, for its part, did not demonstrate great interest in the High Commission Territories. Some years later, at the 1960 Summer Conference on the administration of community development, the conference organiser stated that "all British dependent territories in Africa were represented",[2] but in fact there was no Bechuanaland representative! Co-operation and co-ordination between the Colonial Office and the Commonwealth Relations Office could not have been very close if a senior Colonial Office official was, by implication, unaware of Bechuanaland's status as a British territory.

There was a six month's delay before Creech Jones' Despatch of

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1 CO, The Encouragement of Initiative in African Society, Report of the Summer Conference on African Administration, Cambridge 19 August-2 September 1948, African No.1174 (unpublished).
2 CO, The Administrative Aspects of Community Development, Report of the Summer Conference on African Administration, Cambridge 5-17 September 1960, African No.1202 (unpublished), p.5.

November 1948 was sent to the High Commission Territories.[1] Enclosed also with it was a report by a sub-committee of the Colonial Economic and Development Council, entitled Mass Education and Development Planning, based on:

1. The need for devolution and for planning in relation to the requirements of each area.

2. The need for a co-ordinated approach and for team work.

3. The need to associate local opinion with the actual constructive work of planning.[2]

This represented a major development from the previous concepts of mass education and anticipated, at least in declared policy if not always in fulfilment, thinking which is topical today.[3] The report emphasised that the effective implementation of such a strategy would require that

> the officer responsible for the general oversight of mass education "should be of the highest standing and directly responsible to the Governor". Under him would be the officer actually concerned with the development of mass education work, whose rank would be equivalent to a departmental director, such as the Commissioner for Rural Development in Northern Rhodesia, or the Commissioner for Social Welfare in Kenya, and whose position "should recognise the fact that mass education or social welfare is not a special departmental activity, but is in fact the application of all forms of development in the field. It is only on this basis that mass education can hope to succeed."[4] (Italics mine)

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1 Oddly enough, however, it came under cover of another circular direct from the Colonial Office, dated 25 May 1949, and not, apparently, via the Commonwealth Relations Office which would have been the normal channel of communication. There were certainly gaps, as well as delays, as far as Bechuanaland was concerned: the note on the file shows that Creech Jones' earlier despatch on mass education, dated 25 April 1947, was never received in Mafeking. BNA 364/1, vol.2, pp.85-86.
2 CO, Circular Despatch of 25 May 1949.
3 See UN, Local Participation in Development Planning (New York, 1967), and A.R.G. Prosser, "Community Development and its Relation to Development Planning", Journal of Administration Overseas, 8, 3, 1969, pp.208-213.
4 Despatch of 25 May 1949, op.cit.

Creech Jones' attitude was by no means doctrinaire. He appreciated that "application may demand a different approach suited to the sociological and geographical conditions of the territory under your administration and to the temperament of its people."[1] The implication of this comment was of course of especial significance to proposals which depended so heavily upon public participation, and it therefore warranted very careful examination in each territory. Yet the early dismissal of Creech Jones' initiative, as discussed below, implies that ways and means of achieving the best results in the High Commission Territories were not explored. There was no attempt to assess public attitudes even to the extent of Dumbrell's ad hoc surveys of the 1930's,[2] and the probable reaction of the public at large was left as a matter for conjecture despite the realisation that this was a central matter.[3]

As pointed out already,[4] Creech Jones' 1948 Despatch was the most far-reaching single document in the growth of community development in British Colonial Africa. The official reaction of the Bechuanaland Government, unfortunately, may always remain a mystery, due to one of those gaps in the written record which are so frustrating for the research worker: seven pages of the relevant file are missing.[5] Circumstantial evidence, however, indicates that the Despatch received short shrift. By 25 August 1949, less than three months after receiving the community development recommendations from the Colonial Office, the correspondence on the matter was closed. There was little enough

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1 Ibid.
2 See above, p. 62.
3 See above, p. 94.
4 See above, p. 70 ff.
5 Pages 106-112 of BNA 364/1, vol.2.

correspondence anyway: the page following the gap in the record is dated "May 1952" and deals with a new topic. No further reference to the 1948 and 1949 despatches occurs in any file in the National Archives and, it is hardly necessary to add, there is no evidence of any related action being taken.

The next Colonial Office policy directive, which was accompanied by a report emphasising the need to establish training facilities, both central and local,[1] also received cursory treatment. The Director of Education, H. Jewitt, was not inclined to spare the matter even a thought.[2] When pressed to give an official observation, he commented:

> while funds available for education in this Territory are inadequate for the present rudimentary system of schools any attempt at mass adult education is impossible.[3]

In the face of such a summary dismissal by the Director of Education - and the matter was not referred to anyone else - it is not surprising that discussion on community development disappeared from Bechuanaland until it was revived some ten years later in both official and unofficial circles.[4]

Would a more conscious awareness of prevailing sociological conditions on the part of the Bechuanaland Administration have made policy decisions any easier? It seems unlikely. The point at issue, which involved nothing less than the nature of modernization and the passing of traditional society, was and is far too complex and controversial for simple solutions. Nevertheless a more critical awareness of the

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1 Memorandum prepared on the basis of Mass Education (Community Development) Committee's review of Community Development, enclosed with despatch 264/52 from Colonial Secretary, dated 10 March 1952. BNA 364/1, vol.2, pp.114-122.
2 A note on the file in his own handwriting bleakly states "there is no point in making observations - we have no funds." BNA 364/1, vol.2.
3 DE to CS 23 May 1952. BNA 364/1, vol.2.
4 See below, p. 170 ff.

sociological context would have helped to show that the issues raised by the community development-mass education proposals were of central, not marginal, relevance to the future of Bechuanaland society; it also would have clarified the real meaning of policy decisions in terms of value-judgments about the process of development.

Summary

In the 1940's and 1950's Colonial Office thinking in regard to mass education and then community development evolved steadily and consistently. General principles were refined into definite strategies which in turn led to the evolution of guidelines for the creation of adequate government machinery. Most of the African territories participated in these developments, often contributing to the formulation of colonial policy but also diverging from it where they felt their own situation demanded a different interpretation. In Bechuanaland, however, this divergence was predominantly negative and non-creative: in the 1950's official thinking was further from embracing a community development approach than it had been in the 1930's. Jowitt's use of the term "mass adult education" in 1952[1] indicates a failure to grasp the relevance and potential of community development. His conception of it merely as a rival to children's education confirms this. The fact that neither he nor the Government Secretary considered seeking the opinion of the Welfare Officer on the Colonial Office proposals in either 1949 or 1952 reveals that the much discussed connection

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1 This term had seldom been used in Colonial Office documents, and even the term "mass education" had been officially superseded by "community development" four years previously.

between mass education and welfare had either been imperfectly understood, forgotten or deliberately rejected. Likewise, in view of the gradual shift in colonial policy from a method of education towards an approach to administration and development,[1] the Government Secretary's failure to extend discussions beyond the Director of Education appears equally short-sighted.

Thus, at the time that community development was becoming established as a national policy in most British territories in Africa, being refined and adapted to local requirements, in Bechuanaland it was being banished to the archives. The lack of action there during the later 1940's and 1950's, despite the thought-provoking communications from the Colonial Office and a good deal of local discussion, recalls the "implementation gap" between ideas and action in the 1920's and 1930's that had been so marked a feature of colonial education in Africa generally. The poor progress in the Protectorate is all the more disappointing on account of the contrast with the 1930's and early 1940's when there was experimental and pioneer work in relating education to community needs.

The question remains as to how it was possible for the Bechuanaland authorities to discuss the desirability of mass education without any serious consideration of the necessary means of achievement. The only obvious general explanation for the wide discrepance between talk and action is found in the lack of independence inherent in the colonial situation. When it came to the point of finding resources to execute a theoretically desirable policy those resources were not available

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1 The implications of mass education for administrative officers had been recognised by several Bechuanaland District Commissioners as early as 1944. See above, p.93.

locally nor was their acquisition within the power of the Protectorate Government in Mafeking. But this is not an adequate explanation by itself since Bechuanaland was not the only impoverished colonial territory. Furthermore, it was in Mafeking, not London, that it was decided that "funds did not permit". Surely, if the Administration in Mafeking had believed mass education-community development to have been as important as colonial policy stated then the logical action would have been an insistence on the release of additional funds: the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund was ideally suited for such an application. Yet the only application on record was the pathetic request for more cinematograph equipment. However, apart from these reasons and, to be fair to the Protectorate Administration, it seems unlikely to have been mere coincidence that neither of the other two High Commission Territories, Basutoland and Swaziland, developed mass education and community development in the 1940's and 1950's, although at certain stages they had been as anxious to do so as Bechuanaland. There is at least an inference here that the traditional pattern of lack of support for the High Commission Territories was again manifesting itself.[1]

Finally, it is impossible to avoid deductions related to the fact that the commencement of the "impossible - no funds" syndrome coincided precisely with the retirement of Dumbrell as Director of Education at the end of 1945. Furthermore the same date marks the end of meaningful debate. The contrast, between the series of discussions in 1944 and 1945 consequent upon the Mass Education Memorandum and the total absence of any discussion after the 1949 and 1952 Despatches, is too stark to be explained simply in terms of an awareness of the

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1 See above, p.20 ff.

shortage of funds. Dumbrell appears to have been the only person who was able to consider the new ideas in terms other than as direct competitors with existing services for the limited funds at Government's disposal. The colonial papers on mass education and community development emphasised repeatedly that neither their objectives nor indeed their implementation were to be seen in the limited context of the fulfilment of an individual department's programme. Their objectives were concerned with the future welfare of people and with making more effective use of resources. Dumbrell's actions suggest that he was aware of such objectives and recognised that for their achievement departments would often have to plan and act in collaboration.[1] But such realisation was not evident amongst other official leaders. The theory of management by objectives[2] is helpful here: had heads of departments and other leaders in Bechuanaland been able to integrate the specific goals of their own sections with the general objectives of government, there would surely have been a very different outcome to the deliberations on mass education and community development.

In the absence of any consistent effort to integrate objectives and hence programmes in this way, changes came about in a piece-meal, unrelated manner. Because of this the one practical move which could have provided a focus and spring-board for many of the new ideas, namely the appointment and subsequent activities of a Welfare Officer, failed to do so. Instead of being directly related to the overall development effort and having an important impact on, for example,

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1 For example, in the proposed duties of the officer responsible for Mass Education, mainly drafted by Dumbrell. See above, p. 99, and Appendix II (p.396).

2 See for example Peter Drucker, The Practice of Management (London: Pan Books, 1968).

the educational process generally, the extension of improved agriculture, the development of local decision-making or the growth of community organisations, the welfare programme became merely a marginal and somewhat isolated activity of the Education Department. Its functions and achievement are the concern of the following chapter.

P A R T II

PROGRAMME AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA

CHAPTER 3

THE INTERPRETATION OF WELFARE 1947-1961

Although the link between mass education and welfare was at least nominally recognised by the Bechuanaland authorities, this recognition did not have any noticeable effect upon the work being done in the field. Indeed the most striking impression gained from a consideration of events in the later 1940's and the 1950's is of there being two distinct levels of activity with virtually no interaction between them. On the one hand Colonial Office policy was continually evolving and probing into related fields: the role of literacy in development; community development as a method of administration; the administrative structures, such as the team approach, required for co-ordinated local development; the connections between community development and social welfare, leading to a concept of social development; and finally, in 1960, coming back with the eye of experience to a detailed consideration of the roles of the various officers and agencies, official and non-official, in the organisation of community development. Much of this evolving policy was known to the Bechuanaland authorities; indeed sometimes they discussed it and even acknowledged its value. On the other hand, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that welfare work developed in the field as though that policy had not existed. One of the main external reasons for this "implementation gap" was the failure on the part of the Commonwealth Relations Office to ensure that colonial policy was always communicated adequately to the High Commission Territories.[1] Some of the internal reasons have been discussed in the previous chapter, but to appreciate the nature of the gap adequately we must examine more closely the interpretation of welfare in Bechuanaland.

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1 There is, for example, no record that the report of the 1954 Ashridge Conference on Social Development was received in Mafeking.

In theory the work of the Welfare Officer was to subsume mass education. In practice its concern for most of the period was with the organisation and development of traditional British youth movements. At the end of the period, from 1958 to 1961, urban social group work became the central focus.

The Reappearance of Welfare Work after the 1939-45 War

While the discussions about mass education were grinding on tortuously in the higher echelons of the government administrations of the three High Commission Territories, the question of welfare work in Bechuanaland had been independently reviewed and revised. By mid-1946 the Resident Commissioner, A.D. Forsyth Thompson, felt that the work of the Welfare Officer amongst members of the armed forces was insufficient to justify a full-time appointment. He was at the same time conscious that the youth organisations in the country, particularly the Scouts and Guides, were increasing in numbers but were only receiving supervision of a very rudimentary kind and were obviously in need of assistance. To deal with both matters together he proposed that the incumbent dealing with soldier's welfare, an elderly man, be gently "eased" from his post to be replaced by a much younger person, trained in youth work, who would combine the welfare and youth functions.[1] Although he acknowledged the link between welfare and mass education emphasised in the 1943 Mass Education Memorandum, the Director of Education did not foresee the new appointee dealing with mass education initially. He considered that more funds would have to be released to effect any significant mass education

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1 RC to HC, 2 July 1945. BNA 2327/12, p.15.

programme and if this occurred both the salary and the status of the appointee would have to be raised. Nevertheless, whoever was appointed should be capable of fulfilling the wider role at a later stage and recruitment should take this into account.[1] A member of the London Missionary Society, the Reverend F.J. Shaw, who had been closely associated with youth work for a number of years, was asked to assist in finding a suitable person in Britain.[2] Correspondence with the person contacted, John F. Leech, stressed the youth work element, though the question of work with ex-servicemen was also mentioned.[3]

The youth work emphasis reflected the personal bias of Leech, who was appointed in mid-1947.[4] However, he also became responsible for a range of other activities several of which had clear mass education connotations. Parallel appointments were not made in Basutoland and Swaziland, and in 1950 the value of his function was noted by the Resident Commissioners of the High Commission Territories who expressed their

> appreciation of the position in Bechuanaland where the Welfare Officer carried out a combination of duties, comprising the following: Scouting and Guiding; Adult and Audio-visual Education; Cases of indigence; Bechuanaland Soldiers' Benefit Fund; Assistance in Presentation of Government's point of view to the African; Assistance in the Relationship with the Press; Contribution of Articles to the Press.[5]

Leech was in many ways well fitted for several of these activites, but obviously such an amalgam of duties was not without its own particular

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1 Minute by H. Jowitt, Director of Education, July 1946. BNA 2327/12, p.16.
2 A.D. Forsyth Thompson to Rev. F.J. Shaw, 1 August 1946. BNA 2327/12, p.18.
3 CD W/S/6.
4 Circular Memorandum, 29 May 1947. BNA 2327/12, p.38.
5 Minutes of Conference of RC's of the HCT, 9 - 10 May 1950. BNA 8425.

difficulties. In the first place, there were more functions than any one man could reasonably be expected to fulfil effectively; and secondly, their combination in one post was more a marriage of convenience than one of reason. That Leech was diligent in evolving a practical modus operandi is not in doubt, but an overview of his term of office leaves an impression of a variety of ad hoc activities rather than a coherent programme.

There were continual difficulties over the nature and terms of Leech's appointment which, having a wider than personal relevance, merit a place in this study. He was never entirely satisfied with his conditions of service,[1] and more than once was ready to quit. He applied for a raise of salary in 1948 and again in 1949, when he started applying for jobs elsewhere. He was not merely toying with the idea of leaving: on one occasion he got as far as booking a sea passage to Britain, selling his furniture and vacating his house. He was persuaded to stay, but the feeling of dissatisfaction remained.[2] Naturally the lack of stability engendered by this sense of grievance was not conducive to the smooth growth of the welfare programme, and in particular it must have had an adverse effect on the development of long-term strategies.

Leech's conditions certainly gave cause for dissatisfaction. Although the Welfare Officer had Protectorate-wide responsibility, his remuneration compared very unfavourably with that of a District Officer. In addition, and not unrelated to its poor financial standing, the post did not command an influential position in the government hierarchy from which to gain support for the welfare policy and programme.

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1 Personal discussion with J.F. Leech, Lusaka, January 1964.
2 CD W/S/6.

So far from having the status of a head of department and being directly responsible to the Resident Commissioner as had been proposed in the discussions about mass education and welfare,[1] the Welfare Officer was answerable to the Director of Education. In itself this arrangement need not have been unduly disadvantageous had he been able to count upon the Director using his influence to build up the work. Unfortunately the successive Directors of Education did not give this active support and indeed appeared to evince little interest in the welfare programme, tolerating it but not exerting themselves to discuss its strategy, let alone to develop it. The net result was that although welfare aspired to the title of a sub-department[2] of the Education Department, it operated very much in isolation from the rest of the Department and indeed from any other Government Department. With little direct access to or influence upon the general educational policy, or upon any aspect of the territorial administration, its organisational status and position in the government machinery were a parody of what had been envisaged in Colonial policy for welfare and mass education.

Jowitt, as Director of Education, was not however entirely unsympathetic to the needs and at one stage, following Leech's report of a visit to Basutoland, did put a case for improved provision to the Government Secretary:

> One cannot help being struck by the disparity in between Basutoland's financial provision and our own on the one hand, and between their activities and their financial means on the other. It is correspondingly gratifying that we have been able to accomplish as much as has been done....[3]

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1 See above, p.100.
2 This seems to have been Leech's own nomenclature, which put a brave face on the situation: with the exception of the driver-operator and lorry labourer attached to the mobile cinema, he was until 1959 the only member. See Social Welfare Annual Report 1948-1949, dated 20 August 1949, p.1.
3 DB to GS, 20 July 1949. BNA 2327/12.

The request, which once more laid great emphasis on the value of the cinema unit,[1] did not lead to any action, and Jowitt did not press the claim. The "gratifying" accomplishments were, and continued to be, essentially in two fields: the organisation of youth movements formed the core of the developmental function; and the rehabilitation of ex-servicement was the main welfare[2] function.

Youth Movements

Leech's personal bias towards youth work became evident shortly after his arrival in the Protectorate. Indeed, the general strategy which he announced for welfare work contained four main points all dealing with the improvement and development of youth movements. He intended to meet the leaders of existing youth groups; attempt to identify potential leaders; commence training courses for leaders in the Scouts, Guides and Boys Brigade; and lastly, issue a newsheet to these leaders as part of his training operation.[3]

The strategy was put into operation and proved effective. There can be no doubt that Leech's most lasting achievement, and it was no mean one, was in the growth and development, both quantitatively and qualitatively, of the Scouts and Guides movements. Popular recognition supports this judgment. Many years after he had left Bechuanaland, Batswana scattered throughout the country associated his name with "welfare". On investigation, their concept of welfare was usually found to refer to the Scouts and Guides.[4] Their observation was not inaccurate, for in the field of youth work the occupational role of

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1 As had a Resident Commissioner and High Commissioner beforehand, for equally unclear reasons. See above, pp. 97 and 99.
2 Using the term in its narrow sense.
3 CD W/S/6.
4 Personal discussion with individuals and groups in Botswana.

the Welfare Officer became merged with Leech's personal role in a voluntary organisation. His formal relationships with the Scouts reflect this. The constitution of the national governing body of the Association, the Scouts Council, stipulated that the Welfare Officer should be a member.[1] But Leech in his personal capacity was for most of his time in Bechuanaland also the Chief Territorial Commissioner of the Association. Undoubtedly this deep personal involvement, together with his experience and efficiency in Scouting organisation, was the main factor behind the lively condition of the movement during his term as Welfare Officer.

In some ways, however, this relationship was disadvantageous to the movement since it was difficult for Leech to maintain any objectivity in his judgments about the value of Scouting. This can be seen both in explicit comments and in the general orientation of his work. Thus, as early as 1949, it was noted that the progress of the Scout and Guide movements had been encouraging: by mid-1948 the number of Scouts was 1,328, with 10 Commissioners and 85 Scouters, reflecting a 9.4% increase over 1947. At the same time the Guides totalled 2,460, also with 10 Commissioners, and 87 Guiders: a decline over figures for 1947, probably due to incomplete returns. The conclusions drawn from these figures were, to put it mildly, sweeping. They proved

> beyond doubt the universal appeal of their [Scouting and Guiding] systems of training and their value as a means of character training and education for citizenship. Their success is believed to have contributed in no small measure to the almost total absence of juvenile delinquency.[2]

Whilst evidence may be lacking to disprove the claim about delin-

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1 Social Welfare Annual Report 1948-1949, p.2.
2 Social Welfare Annual Report 1948-1949, p.1.

quency, the same phenomenon is more satisfactorily explained sociologically in terms of the strong family ties, the working of the extended family system, well-known tribal and communal customs, and minimal effects from urbanisation.[1] There had, in fact, been no significant juvenile delinquency in earlier years, before these movements had demonstrated their "success". Likewise the "appeal" of the movements is not difficult to understand in a situation where schools were usually poorly staffed, authoritarian in administration and almost totally devoid of any organised recreational or other innovatory activities. Virtually any diversionary activity for youth would have had considerable appeal in making a change from the monotony of the normal routine.

In British educational tradition there has been much emphasis on "character training", an element which had been given close attention in colonial educational policy since 1925. In terms of an African situation, however, it begs important questions. In addition to the difficulty of definition, or perhaps because of this, the place of character training in African education was not rigorously examined. Its origins were deeply rooted in middle-class Britain, a milieu very different from the traditional or transitional societies of Africa, but the extent of this difference was not fully recognised when movements such as the Scouts were translated from Britain to Africa. Without suitable adaptation in relation to social and economic conditions, this character-building movement, it could be argued, was in fact building the wrong kind of character as may be illustrated by reference to the content of the training. Thus, for example, until

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1 See above, pp. 26 and 29.

the mid-1960's Scouting tests in Bechuanaland still included emphasis on the correct chopping of trees,[1] whilst making no provision for teaching the desperate need to avoid chopping trees wherever possible and how to conserve them and plant them. Such considerations make the claim that scouting was "education for citizenship" rather doubtful.

The figures for growth in membership of the Scouts and Guides, as well as for the training of their leaders reflect the time and energy devoted by Leech to the movements. Between 1948 and 1956 their combined membership more than doubled from 3,788 to 7,871; and in 1955 for example, training courses and camps were attended by 122 leaders. But since so much of his official time was spent on this work, Leech was in effect more of a paid servant of the Scouts, and to a lesser extent the Guides, than a general welfare officer. Time for consideration of the role of the Welfare Department in a wider context was ipso facto reduced, and as already made clear, little thought was given to serious attempts to plan a mass education or community development programme. Youth work itself developed an in-built bias, for in practice it became almost synonymous with Scouting and Guiding, and there was little or no investigation of new ways of making provision for youth.[2]

The final disadvantage of this working relationship was that the Scout movement in particular, but also the Guides, came to depend very heavily upon the services of the Welfare Officer, which included

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1 The Policy, Organisation and Rules of the United Kingdom Scouts Association were followed to the letter.

2 On one occasion the Welfare Officer did discuss with the Director of Agriculture the question of starting Young Farmers Clubs, but nothing came of the talks apparently because of the difficulties of organising communal activities amongst boys who normally spent a lot of their time at the cattle posts. The possibility of experimenting with clubs attached to schools in the villages was not examined. CD W/S/6.

not only his time and expertise, but also provision of government transport and various items of equipment. After Leech had left the country it became evident that several of the leading Scout Commissioners looked to the Welfare Department for assistance of this sort as of right[1] and felt that Government was letting them down when such help was restricted. The principle raised by this situation is not that a voluntary organisation should necessarily stand on its own feet unaided no matter how difficult the conditions, but rather that if a government office is to become so heavily involved in an organisation, then it must be certain that the policy being followed by that organisation is the best one available in the circumstances and is subject to a degree of government control. In this case, not only were the Scouts unrepresentative of the country's youth[2] but also there was no impartial review of the role of the welfare department in relation to the needs of youth as a whole.

These critical comments, necessary as they are for the formulation of a balanced judgment, should not be allowed to obscure the positive side of the work. Scouting and Guiding did have an appeal and were able to offer interesting, enjoyable and often useful activities to the school-children, as well as giving some opportunities for the development of personal initiative and judgment. Elements of individual and group discipline and organisation were introduced. Numbers enrolled were very considerable: the proportion of members to non-members amongst the school population was, and it remained so throughout the sixties, one of the highest in the world.[3] By using

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1 Personal observation in my capacity as Welfare Officer.
2 Scout troops were all based on schools, hence non-school youth, the majority, were automatically excluded from the movement.
3 In 1960 1 in every 4.5 children at primary or secondary school was a member of one of these movements.

voluntary leaders[1] and a locally based organisation it was possible to establish and maintain a large number of groups scattered throughout the country using minimal resources. Furthermore, there was a genuine "grass roots" growth so that in several cases the national headquarters heard of groups starting entirely on the initiative of the youth themselves before any leader had been appointed. By 1959 Leech was claiming, whilst admitting that he might be accused, legitimately the reader may feel, of having "a bee in his bonnet" about these movements, that the Scouts and Guides were

> 6,000 disciples of progress..., through whom better ideas on health, hygiene, sanitation, personal cleanliness can be spread to about four times their number, through over eighty villages.[2]

Allowing for some optimism regarding the loyalty of the "disciples" and their ability to "spread the word", it is evident that the movements represented a not inconsiderable vehicle for progressive ideas, thus making a contribution to mass education.

Ex-Servicemen's Rehabilitation

With the end of the Second World War, the 10,000 Batswana soldiers[3] began to return from Italy and the Middle East. Many of them had needs over and above those inevitably associated with five years' absence from home, and the Welfare Officer was directly concerned with efforts to help such people.

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1 These were mainly school teachers. Neither movement had any paid officials until the 1960's when they both employed secretaries and the Scouts also employed a Roving Commissioner.
2 J.F. Leech, "Some Notes on the Moffat Report on Community Development in Basutoland and Swaziland", 27 July 1959. CD W/49.
3 Alan Bent, Ten Thousand Men of Africa (London: HMSO, 1952), foreword, p.v.

Basically there were two main channels of assistance: military pensions and special funds. Those servicemen who had suffered wounds or illness, as well as the families of those who had died whilst on active service, were entitled to receive military pensions paid by the British Government.[1] The Military Pensions Board, consisting of the Government Treasurer, the Director of Medical Services, a Chief, and the Welfare Officer, was responsible for assessing, awarding and revising such pensions.[2] For the Welfare Officer the task was not onerous, his main duty being to attend meetings which were seldom held more than once a quarter. Sometimes an application would reveal a need which could not be solved merely by awarding or increasing a pension, and in such cases the Welfare Officer would conduct follow-up enquiries and where appropriate render assistance.

In addition to the military pension arrangements there were various kinds of provision to assist with rehabilitation in cases of particular hardship which for some reason or another did not qualify for a pension. By far the most significant of these territorially was the Bechuanaland Soldiers' Benefit Fund (BSBF), established at the end of the war on the authority of the African Advisory Council. The fund had been formed from the balance of war levies collected by the tribes at home during the soldiers' absence and originally spent on various gifts sent to the men at the front.[3] The main purpose of the fund was to enable ex-servicemen to re-establish themselves economically and in practice this meant, for the vast majority, the provision of money for the purchase of cattle, ploughs or for other agricultural investment. It was

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1 Ibid., p.100.
2 Social Welfare Annual Report 1948-1949.
3 Bent, op.cit., p.101.

initially intended that the fund should operate as a loan scheme, only awarding outright grants in the most exceptional circumstances. In the event it proved impossible to recover more than a fraction of the "loans" despite repeated attempts by District Commissioners to do so.[1] The number of people assisted financially ran into several hundred[2] and, the question of loan-repayment notwithstanding, there is no doubt that this provision was the main factor in avoiding genuine hardship, and in some cases almost complete ruin, for many ex-servicemen and their families.

In passing, it is worth noting that the BSBF scheme had tremendous potential to be used in a dynamic and on-going fashion. Instead of merely doling out the loans, and then taking no further interest in them except to recoup them in due course, the BSBF had an excellent opportunity to concern itself with the most important aspect, namely the way the loan was used and to follow up the progress of the individuals involved. The Government had complained that there were no funds for mass education work,[3] yet here was the BSBF with very sizeable funds specifically designated to assist Batswana in the development and improvement of their economic situations.

Information about mass education and community development was already available and it would not have taken much imagination to link some of these ideas with the operation of the BSBF. By working on a co-operative basis, for example, much more economical use could have been made of the available funds, and by linking up with the Department

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1 Personal perusal of BSBF papers in my capacity as Welfare Officer.
2 For example, in 1949 111 loans totalling £3,180 were issued. BP Annual Report 1949, p.25.
3 See above, p.99.

of Agriculture the scheme could have moved from the mere provision of capital items to the improvement of agricultural methods and techniques. But because Colonial Office thinking and experience elsewhere was being ignored, a valuable opportunity to achieve some meaningful local development, indeed what could have been a prototype community development project, was lost.

Other Welfare Activities

According to the 1955 Annual Social Welfare Report, the main activities of the sub-department, in addition to youth work and ex-servicemen's assistance, were:

> the running of a Mobile Cinema Service; an employment bureau;... a limited amount of internal Public Relations work in which is incorporated an informal citizen's advice bureau; and the organisation and running of the Population Census.[1]

Of the first three items, the Mobile Cinema reached by far the most people the 1955 annual audience being estimated at 150,000,[2] a figure equal to almost half the estimated total population of the country.[3] It seems likely that this audience figure is a considerable exaggeration,[4] but in any case the more important aspect to take into account is the effect of this service on the audience and on this topic no records can be found. Knowledge about the film as a medium of communication, as well as the type of films available,[5] would

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1 Social Welfare Report 1955.
2 Ibid.
3 The 1956 Census put the total population at 309,175. Census Report 1964, p.1.
4 Personal experience of operating the Mobile Cinema Service in my capacity as Welfare Officer 1962-63.
5 Most films were obtained through the UK Information Service Film Library in Johannesburg: these were Central Office of Information newsreels and documentaries, with a few feature films and cartoons.

suggest that as a means of extension work this programme was not very effective. Nevertheless, the mere presentation of outside news and information obviously had a generally educative function.

The employment bureau and the public relations work sound quite impressive, but were in fact very limited. With no staff other than the cinema-operator and his assistant, the Welfare Officer was kept busy with the youth work, ex-servicemen's provision, and the cinema organisation; there could have been little time for these other activities. Employment seekers far exceeded the jobs available, and those seeking labouring jobs normally went direct to employers such as the Public Works Department. Applications for clerical and higher posts in Government were dealt with by individual Departments or the Establishment Officer. Certainly the Welfare Department records contain no vestige of any organisation of an employment bureau. Likewise with the public relations work, there are no records of what this amounted to, though circumstantial evidence suggests that a citizen's advice bureau operated by a single officer spending a fraction of his time on this function in a remote office[1] could not have served the needs of many, and those taking advantage of this service would not have been average Batswana.

The fact that the job of running the 1956 Census was given to the Welfare Officer, who was expected to undertake this new function as well as somehow maintaining his other duties[2] is symptomatic of the

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1 Until 1957 the Welfare Office was in Mafeking, which was outside Bechuanaland. After that it was situated at the north end of Lobatse, the "European" end, about two miles from the town centre, in a small group of isolated offices near the High Court. This was quite suitable for the administration of a national service by remote control, but was not convenient for face-to-face contact with individual Batswana.
2 He had no assistant to whom to delegate responsibility.

Government's real though unspoken valuation of welfare work: it was desirable, but easily dispensable. Such an attitude was revealed several times in subsequent years.[1] In the circumstances the Census assignment would appear to have been an exceedingly tough one, and it is not perhaps surprising that it was not very accurate.[2]

An interesting example of the type of activity that was still engaging the attention of the senior administrators is afforded by the proposal in November 1955 to establish, under a statutory framework, a Bechuanaland Protectorate Welfare Trust. The nature of the origin of the proposal is also revealing. The Chairman of the European Advisory Council, Mr (later Sir) Russell England, had complained that he was "perturbed at the multifarious charitable appeals which are launched with annoying frequency on B.P. residents."[3] This prompted a meeting of the Resident Commissioner, the Government Secretary, Russell England and the Welfare Officer, following which the legal branch was requested to draft a Proclamation setting up a Welfare Trust.[4] The proposed arrangement would have been somewhat similar to a community chest as understood in the USA, under which funds would be collected centrally and allocated to voluntary organisations by a central committee. The proposal got no further however. When District Commissioners called meetings to sound out local opinion on the matter, there was almost total opposition. A typical response was that of the Ghanzi people: "Why should I contribute to a general fund if part of my subscription might go to a 'worthy cause' with which I might not desire

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1 See below, p. 369-372.
2 Census Report 1964, op.cit., p.2.
3 WO to CS, 25 November 1955. BNA 9230.
4 It should be remembered that government at this time was by High Commissioner's Proclamation.

to be associated?"[1]

Either way, the matter can only be considered to have been a peripheral one. Funds collected from the public by direct appeal were seldom large, and the donors were usually Europeans,[2] a fact reflected in the Chairman of the European Advisory Council's concern for the nuisance to "B.P. residents", who quite obviously were Europeans. That the Resident Commissioner and other senior officials should spend their time and engage the services of the government machinery on such a trifling matter, brought to their notice only because of the pique of a testy but influential European,[3] has considerable significance for our study. Not only does it reveal the prevailing climate in which the handful of Europeans still maintained a position of immense privilege, but it also implies an astonishing lack of a sense of priorities on the part of the Administration, as well as an inability to delegate. It further suggests the discouraging constraints upon the Welfare Officer's working situation. The matter provided virtually the only occasion during Leech's term of office that the Resident Commissioner or the Government Secretary participated actively in discussions with him about an aspect of his work.[4] That the occasion should have arisen from so unimportant an issue in terms of the social and economic needs of the Batswana appears ludicrous today and must have given Leech cause for depressing reflection.

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1 DC Ghanzi to GS, 4 July 1957, BNA 9230.
2 Judging by experience in the early 1960's.
3 This is not to decry in any way the service which Russell England rendered to Bechuanaland, firstly as a civil servant and latterly in public life.
4 Based on examination of the relevant files. It is, of course, quite possible that there were other discussions, but it seems reasonable to assume that had they touched upon important features of policy, there would have been a written record.

Social Assistance

It may be wondered that, apart from the ex-servicemen's work, the Welfare Department gave so little attention to measures designed to relieve suffering on the part of social casualties; the aged, infirm, physically handicapped and indigent. The main reason for this was that

> Throughout most of the Protectorate social problems are still satisfactorily solved according to long established tribal custom in which the sense of communal obligation is very strong. As a result the care of orphans, the aged, and the infirm is voluntarily undertaken by relatives according to a definite order of responsibility which is laid down by tribal law....[1]

Where a person had no relative who was fit or able to assume responsibility, this was taken over by the Chief.[2]

However, as tribal responsibility weakened, there were more and more cases of casualties for whom no one could be found to take responsibility. To meet this need, government funds were made available under the heading "Relief of Destitutes", which were administered not by the Welfare Department but by District Commissioners. By the mid-1950's however, it was realised that this service was inadequate: not only did it not provide any long-term answers but also there were cases of physical or mental handicap which required more professional attention than family care. There was a mental hospital at Lobatse but this, quite naturally, would only take certifiable cases.

A series of meetings and discussions were held with District Commissioners and a detailed proposal to create little "colonies" for indigents and the handicapped received a good measure of agreement

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1 BP Annual Report 1961-62, p.60.
2 Social Welfare Report 1955.

during 1956, but the idea was scrapped when it was discovered that most of those who were destitute and had no one to turn to were in any case non-indigenous. This seemed a sound basis for closing the matter,[1] since when the Government has not taken any new initiatives in relation to indigent categories.

Urban Welfare

Until the new capital, Gaborone, was developed in 1964-1965 the only two areas in the country that were considered "urban" were Francistown and Lobatse. By international standards, their populations, 9,479 and 7,604 in 1964[2] respectively were extremely small. Nevertheless, since their residents did not depend upon agriculture or related occupations for a living, and their social structures were non-tribal,[3] they were markedly different from the rest of the country. As might be expected in a situation where most people were extremely poor, slum conditions began to develop as soon as settlement became dense, and in the late 1950's the fact that social conditions were unpleasant in these areas began to impinge on the official mind. However, it was in the workers' "compound"[4] at the Colonial Development Corporation (CDC) abattoir at Lobatse that the first efforts were made to introduce "welfare" work at a local level.

Although the CDC was a quasi-government organisation, the appalling condition of the compound had been allowed to develop and worsen. The basic design was unsuited for satisfactory family life: the living

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1 BNA 8313/8.
2 Census Report 1964, Table 3, pp.49 and 56.
3 They were designated township areas, freehold plots were available, and there were no Chiefs or headmen.
4 The housing area provided for its employees by the Colonial Development Corporation.

blocks, which each contained four crowded household units, were in tight, closely packed lines. There was no fencing to indicate the extent of individual family plots: and the space immediately surrounding the blocks was supposed to be communal responsibility. But since there was no sense of such responsibility, the area abounded in rubbish of all kinds, presenting both an eyesore and a threat to health. Toilet and ablution blocks were scattered throughout the compound and these likewise suffered from misuse and lack of proper maintenance. As if such conditions were not bad enough, there was in addition an open drain running through the middle of the compound carrying the effluent from the abattoir, which finally debauched into "Loch McGregor"[1] just below the compound fence. It was not unknown for toddlers to fall into this drain. There was no recreation hall.

Despite the effrontery of such living conditions the officials sought to find improvements through "welfare". Initially this meant the construction of a hall which was used as a church and for recreation. In May 1957 the Divisional Commissioner, South,[2] whose attention had been called to the situation in the compound, had a meeting with the Reverend Sandilands of the London Missionary Society who had written a report about it, together with the Regional Director of the CDC.[3]

The outcome of the meeting was that two students from the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work in Johannesburg spent three months working in the compound. A few weeks before they were due to return to their studies, the Divisional Commissioner, concerned lest their

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1 So named after a former CDC Manager.
2 For administrative purposes, the Protectorate consisted of two divisions, North and South, and the Divisional Commissioners were the two most senior field administrators in the country. This system was abolished in the early 1960's.
3 BNA 11198, p.1.

work should all collapse, made the remarkable suggestion that the driver-operator of the Welfare Department's mobile cinema unit was "just the man" to do this welfare work whilst not engaged on his mobile cinema duties.[1] In the circumstances the response of the Director of Education, to whom the proposal was referred,[2] was very mild. He was however prompted to comment, almost _en passant_ it seems, that a trained African Assistant Welfare Officer could well be useful in Lobatse and indeed that at the same time the needs of Francistown should not be overlooked.[3] Correspondence on the question grew voluminously[4] and finally produced results in 1959 when a graduate of the Jan Hofmeyr School, Clement Oliphant, was appointed. He developed a women's club, a literacy class, a cultural club, and various sporting activities.[5]

Mrs B.E. Coppens, who was Acting Welfare Officer in 1960-1961 following Leech's retirement in 1959, took a great interest in urban welfare and one of her first assignments, at the request of the Government Secretary, was to investigate African and Coloured welfare in Francistown. This she did most thoroughly,[6] pointing out in Tatitown, the main African area, the acute lack of water points, latrines[7] and health facilities. There were open effluent drains causing stagnant troughs in which mosquitoes bred in abundance, there were no market

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1 Divisional Commissioner South to GS, 6 September 1957. BNA 11198, p.1.
2 Leech was on overseas leave in England at the time.
3 DE to GS, 28 September 1957. BNA 11198, p.2.
4 A whole file was filled with correspondence on the one subject of a welfare worker for the CDC compound.
5 Leech, "Notes on the Moffat Report," 1959. CD W/49.
6 Report on African and Coloured Welfare at Francistown, 15 April 1961, Confidential memorandum from WO to GS.
7 She estimated that 2,000 people were using the sandy river bed as a latrine.

facilities for those selling fresh produce, and no arrangements for refuse disposal. In view of her vivid exposure of such disgusting living conditions, her conclusion that "the primary and most urgent need, is the provision of Leisure time facilities"[1] reads rather lamely. The proposals to meet this need included a sports field, adjacent to which would be a canteen, open air cinema and Tea Garden (sic). It was hoped that the organisation of sports meetings, to be done by the local Assistant Welfare Officer, would keep the youth "from lounging on pavements in the European shopping centre" as well as "in some way alleviate the morally unhealthy atmosphere that exists."[2] Among the kinds of clubs required to prevent the adolescents from becoming tsotsis[3] were Dramatic Societies and Kite Flying Clubs. Future policy for men would include night schools and craft schools, and small personal clubs for women.

The importance of this report is that it represents the first attempt in the Welfare Department to make a systematic survey of a situation, to identify needs, and to make policy proposals based on such findings. In other words it was the first time a modern planning approach was adopted. The field survey was in the tradition of social workers and need not be faulted: it got down to the grass roots. On the other hand, the approach was clearly a paternalistic European one, as the few quotations above bear witness. More serious in effect were the limitations in the concept of welfare inherent in this approach. It was both narrow and largely irrelevant to Botswana conditions, and was no doubt strongly influenced by the Welfare Officer's South African background and experience in urban social work. Although the basic

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1 Report on Francistown, 1961, p.1.
2 Ibid., p.2.
3 See Glossary.

problems of the area were recognised, yet they were not seen as determinants or targets of a welfare programme. On the contrary, so far from being concerned to make fundamental changes in these conditions, welfare was conceived as providing an escape from the harsh reality: a palliative.

In April 1961 a second Assistant Welfare Officer, a young Motswana trained at the Jan Hofmeyr School, was appointed and posted to Lobatse[1] to continue the work begun by Clement Cliphant, who had now gone to Francistown to start a programme of leisure time activities as proposed by Mrs Coppens. Concurrently the mobile cinema staff and equipment were being transferred to the new Information Department.[2] Thus the total field resources of the Welfare Department were wrapped up in the only two urban areas of the whole country comprising less than 3% of the national population.[3] The policy was not unnatural: Lobatse and Francistown did manifest apparently the most acute social problems. This bothered senior members of the Government:[4] the slum areas were displeasing to the eye and disquieting to the conscience. They may have been "the other side of the tracks", but they were in easy view of important visitors. In the absence of any strategy for the development of the low income urban areas, the contribution of "welfare" was welcomed. The Functions of the two urban workers fell into two categories:

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1 Welfare Work in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Draft note for GS, August 1961.
2 WO to Member for Social Services and Welfare, 10 November 1961. CD W/C/3, p.17.
3 Estimate based on the 1964 census, when they equalled 3.1%. Since growth in these two areas was many times the national average, mainly due to urban migration, it is reasonable to presuppose a lower % in 1961.
4 At this time, of course, there were no politicians in Government, and senior civil servants were nearly all Europeans.

1. group-work of a palliative nature, concentrating on recreational activities, with youth groups figuring prominently. It was hoped that some of these activities would be educational and lead to improvements in local living conditions, but there is no evidence that this hope was realised.

2. a certain amount of rehabilitative case-work, reflecting the bias of the Welfare Officer and the Jan Hofmeyr training of the two workers. This involved investigating individual cases of hardship such as physical handicap, and putting these cases in touch with relevant authorities, where such authorities existed.

Within this framework, much good work was done, but the overall impression is that the emphasis of the department's work during Mrs Coppens' term of office was on curative measures with little serious attention to preventive policies. The Welfare Department was not alone in this, for the concept of "development" was only just beginning to influence the government in general.[1]

However, there was some educational element in the welfare programme, admittedly in a limited sphere. The years 1961-1962 saw the commencement and growth of an occupational therapy unit in Francistown for long-term tuberculosis patients, concentrating on needlework for the women and leatherwork for men. Several ex-patients developed their skill to the point where it could be used as an economic asset, and a group of them subsequently operated a small leatherwork business at the Leseding Community Centre.[2]

In some centres also, adult education projects were begun in the form of "continuation" classes for those, usually young adults, wishing

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1 See above, p.34.
2 Built in 1963, and operated by the Welfare Department. See below, p.151 ff.

to continue their primary or, in a few cases, secondary education. But there was no comprehensive arrangement for these efforts nor even any accepted channel of advice and assistance from Government. Methods and resources varied greatly and the standard was uneven. Difficulties in financing the classes and the recurring unreliability of voluntary teachers meant that results were often far short of expectations. The Welfare Department was interested, and did what it could to help within the confines of its meagre resources, but interest and support from the Education Department was almost non-existent.[1]

Summary

At the end of the 1939-1945 War it had been hoped by Government that the Welfare Officer would in due course undertake responsibility for mass education,[2] once funds became available. But such funds were never diverted for mass education, partly because of the overall shortage of financial resources but mainly because the policy-makers, and the Director of Education in particular, could not see it as a vital feature of the development of the territory. More broadly, it appears that in the whole Administration there was no concept of modernisation which could give a rationale or coherence to the various government functions. Mass education was thus conceived only as a sop for those who had missed the opportunity of schooling. When it came to the nub of the matter, namely the allocation of resources in terms of staff and finance, the decision facing the Administration was

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1 Adult education did not even merit a mention in the section on Education in the territorial Annual Report for 1961-1962.
2 See above, pp. 112-113.

understood only in terms of a choice between what was seen to be a nebulous, unknown, non-professional type of activity on the one hand, the need for which was by no means clear, and on the other hand primary and secondary education which were being demanded on all sides, were well understood, and which "progressive" officials saw as the most important service in the country. To commit expenditure to the former would therefore be to detract from the latter, and this was unthinkable.

Could Leech have pressed the case for mass education? In the first place, it is not clear how far he was included in the discussions on the subject, and the circumstantial evidence suggests that he was not taken into confidence by the Secretariat. The records at neither the Secretariat nor the Welfare Department contain any reference to his being consulted at all. On the other hand, with mass education a burning topic of interest and discussion throughout British Africa,[1] it is hardly conceivable that he was unaware of what it was concerned with, at least in general terms, and of some of the experiments that had been taking place in other African territories. Adult education, after all, was one of the functions he was responsible for.[2] His own training, expertise and attachment were in the "traditional" youth organisations.[3] These pronounced personal leanings might not have had such an influence on the programme had the Welfare Department been subject to a policy worked out at higher level and hence to some out-

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1 For example, from 1943 to the early 1950's hardly an issue of the widely read journal Oversea Education failed to contain some reference to mass education.

2 See above, p. 113.

3 As late as 1955, Leech was still using the title "Welfare Officer and Organising Secretary of Youth Movements", recalling the origins of his post.

side guidance. In the absence of this kind of policy or plan - even the Director of Education, theoretically the person ultimately responsible for welfare work, gave Leech an entirely free hand - it was inevitable that the programme directly reflected Leech's personal interests.

When colonial mass education policy evolved into community development in 1948 the Colonial Office proposals, decisively influential in many territories, affecting the whole approach to local development work, were given short shrift by the Bechuanaland Administration. There is at least an a priori case for believing that had all the members of the District Administration seen Creech Jones' 1948 Despatch, as he had in fact requested,[1] there would have been a positive response to it, leading to experiments in the field and the working out of a suitable local method for community development, as had happened in most African territories.[2]

Although the Welfare Officer appears to have been, in 1955, the first Bechuanaland official to make reference to community development as such, he had little to say about it and demonstrated no acquaintance with the well-known practices in operation in other colonies. He took the view that much development work was being done by the Scouts and Guides which "serve as district teams in sowing seeds of more advanced ideas in health and hygiene, handcrafts and forms of recreation."[3] The meaning given to the term "district team" differed from the normal meaning in colonial administration,[4] and the claim made was not backed up by any concrete evidence: knowledge of the

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1 See above, p. 77.
2 See above, p. 78 ff.
3 Social Welfare Report 1955, p.4.
4 See above, p. 72, and also below, p. 284 footnote 1, for a brief explanation of the term.

operation and standards of the Scouts and Guides in Bechuanaland only a few years later would suggest that any such seeds sown were at least partially incidental to the work of the movements generally. Also being scattered and often isolated in distribution, the contribution of the local groups could at best have been marginal.

The Welfare Department had no policy on community development nor indeed did the Government as a whole. In 1959 Leech wrote a paper on the subject for the Resident Commissioner which consisted in the main of a list of various activities being undertaken not only by himself but by other departments and also voluntary organisations. The only trace of a policy contained in this document was the opinion that a Community Development organisation would be a luxury which could not be afforded, and that the best strategy would be to continue along existing lines of development.[1] Yet, as far as the welfare programme was concerned, these "lines" had not changes in a single major respect since the end of the Second World War, despite the tremendous social and political upheavals being experienced throughout Africa, not excluding Bechuanaland itself.

As Welfare Officer, Leech had a difficult and in many ways thankless path to tread. He had neither status nor influence in the government hierarchy and was in no position of strength from which to develop a co-ordinated policy with other departments, even had he so wished. The Education Department, under whose aegis he operated, was not interested in adult literacy, adult education or community development, a common enough situation in African territories.[2] Above all,

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1 Leech, "Notes on the Moffat Report", 1959.
2 Personal communication, R.C. Prosser, formerly Director of Adult Studies, University College, Nairobi.

only the minutest funds were put at his disposal, so even if he had intended to create his own national field organisation he had not got the resources to do so. With such limitations, the sponsorship and encouragement of voluntary movements afforded a logical strategy. Within this context, Jack Leech played a very valuable role and his contribution to the life of the Protectorate should not be underestimated. If he did not manage to establish an on-going government organisation to succeed him, and the circumstances show that such an achievement would have been despite rather than because of the attitudes of his superior officers, he did undertake a great deal of field work. Spending much of his time travelling, making the whole territory his parish, he became proficient in Setswana and accumulated a vast store of information about Tswana life. He was well known and well liked by Batswana throughout the Protectorate and during his thirteen years there built up a solid fund of goodwill towards "the welfare"; the kind of goodwill for which no strategy or policy, however sophisticated, can be an adequate substitute.

The brief period of office of Mrs Coppens emphasised urban "welfare" work designed to make life more interesting and more enjoyable for low-income residents. A heavy paternalistic motivation was evident: "It is considered most desirable to encourage the educated African to acquire a knowledge of Western culture and ideals."[1] As she was leaving the welfare scene she had however become sufficiently conscious of development work to suggest that there could be roving teams which would assist people in "the provision of amenities which would improve their living conditions."[2] Although this proposal con-

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1 WO to Member for Social Services, 10 November 1961.
2 WO to Member for Social Services, 11 December 1961. CD W/CD/1A, p.3.

trasts oddly with most of Mrs Coppens' active preoccupations in the field, it does point towards slightly more preventive policies.

Traditional British youth movements from 1947 to 1959; urban case-work and recreational work in 1960 and 1961; the emphasis reflected the Welfare Officer's personal inclinations.[1] There was no guidance or direction from more senior levels. And if there was little opposition to the work from above neither was there any support. The lack of funds was seen as having prevented any lasting achievement prior to Mrs Coppens' term of office,[2] and was also blamed for the low reputation of the Welfare Officer.[3]

It would be unfair and misleading to suggest that the programme contained no elements of mass education or community development: one can see such elements as fundamental education, self-help, group organisation and the pooling of people's resources with those of Government. But they occurred only as brief glimpses in the general scene, and were incidental aspects of the various activities rather than conscious ingredients of a policy introduced in a planned or systematic fashion. Paradoxically, the only attempt at conceptualisation of welfare policy, which came right at the end of the period under review, so far from drawing it nearer to community development as understood and practised

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1 T.S. Simey in his Welfare and Planning in the West Indies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946), p.vi, made a similar point: "Colonial administration has been too deeply influenced... /by/ the enthusiasms and prejudices of individual officers."
2 Welfare Work in the BP, August 1961.
3 Report on Welfare in Francistown, April 1961. This last point would appear to contradict the evaluative comments made earlier about "goodwill" towards welfare. The explanation is found in the mainly urban focus of Mrs Coppens activities, where squalor was acute, and also in the disparity between the measures proposed for ameliorating these conditions and the lack of any substantive evidence to show that the proposals were serious contributions to the solution or urban problems.

widely further north in Africa, and which was adapted to the needs of mainly rural areas, had given it a narrow urban focus whose origins were in "non-European" social work in South Africa. It remains to be seen in the following chapter how this concept fared in Bechuanaland in the 1960's.

CHAPTER 4

REASSESSMENT OF WELFARE 1961-1963

Towards the end of 1961 the realisation that the activities of the Welfare Department were almost entirely confined to the two townships of Lobatse and Francistown began to cause some unease in the Secretariat.[1] In Africa generally the awareness of the special needs of rural areas was growing as it was perceived that these areas were lagging further and further behind the towns, both in the acquisition of wealth and in the provision of services.[2] A contemporary survey of Bechuanaland, which emphasised the need for services leading to rural development, had reflected this climate of opinion.[3] It was natural and logical, therefore, that the Secretariat should think of introducing social welfare services in the Tribal Territories and other rural areas. In order to develop these services it was decided that it was necessary to have a male Welfare Officer, who would be more likely to manage the discomforts of travel in areas which often had no provision for accommodation and where distances between centres were long, the intervening roads uneven and dusty. Other reasons contributing to this decision were the fact that there were few precedents for employing women except as teachers, nurses or clerks, and the generally held belief in both the government and tribal administrations

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1 The term "Secretariat" in common usage described the headquarters offices and staff of the Protectorate Administration in Mafeking. It is used here to refer to the Resident Commissioner and his senior officials.

2 The 1959 Cambridge Summer Conference on African Administration had been on the subject of "Rural Economic Development".

3 Economic Survey Mission (1960).

that in a society of traditional male dominance female officers were at a disadvantage.

Accordingly in January 1962 Mrs Coppens relinquished her acting post and was succeeded by a new Welfare Officer[1] who had been, immediately prior to this appointment, the District Officer, Lobatse. Since he had had no training in either social welfare work or youth services,[2] this was a somewhat surprising choice, representing a move away from professionalisation of the post: both previous incumbents had been qualified in their own fields. Colonial administrations have been criticised for their "amateurish" methods,[3] though such strictures commonly fail to appreciate that often there was little real choice in cases such as this one, and also that in the absence of modern institutions in both social and economic spheres a specialised approach similar to that obtaining in Britain or any industrialised country was often out of place. In this instance, however, there were qualified people available, though ironically their very qualifications may have indirectly influenced the decision against them.[4] Scepticism towards outside expertise was still fairly widespread in the Administration, and this was not the only example of the appointment of administrative

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1 The writer.
2 Indeed, the only justification for his transfer to Welfare appears to have been the fact that he was an active Scout leader in his personal capacity, plus perhaps his involvement in sport. Prior to the appointment he had had no particular interest in or association with "Social Welfare" activities in any other way. This reflects upon the concept of welfare needs currently held by the Secretariat.
3 See Simey, op.cit., preface.
4 There were candidates both in Britain and South Africa with qualifications in social work and administration. Some of their ideals as expressed in this applications made the Bechuanaland Administration sceptical and suspicious that they might be too radical. One applicant caused adverse comment from the Government Secretary because he had a beard which was taken to indicate an unacceptably left-wing political view! Personal observation in my role as Assistant Establishment Secretary, Mafeking 1961.

personnel to semi-professional posts.[1] Experience had given substantial grounds for making such appointments: the Administration had suffered a fair share of misfitting newcomers[2] who had found the dry and dusty conditions or the lack of social amenities or the rudimentary bureaucracy not to their liking. The administrators were men of a pragmatic turn of mind who well knew that "experts" had a tendency to make proposals based on conceptual models developed elsewhere which were unrelated to reality and practicability in Bechuanaland.[3]

The Changing Concept of Welfare Work

The remit given to the new Welfare Officer was vague in the extreme: to "look after the youth movements, and see what can be done about the rural areas".[4] Apart from this brief verbal intimation of what was required no priorities were indicated nor guide-lines laid down. It was not even made clear where the Welfare Officer stood in relation to the chain of command, though he was advised to refer to the Director of Education if he ran into problems. He appeared therefore to have virtually a free hand, and consequently he decided first to study the existing commitments of the Department and second, to investigate in the main rural centres the needs and possibilities which could provide a basis upon which to develop the work.

Current departmental policy was quite clear: the application of

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1 For example, in the early 1960's District Officers were also appointed to senior posts in livestock development and co-operatives.
2 It should be remembered that the only Batswana university graduates at this time were already holding responsible posts.
3 See for example the Report of the UNESCO Educational Planning Mission (1964), ref.EPTA/EDPLAN/BECH. Similar problems arose with the UN Adviser on Community Development who arrived in Bechuanaland in 1965.
4 Personal interview with Government Secretary on appointment as Welfare Officer.

"positive measures" in the areas where needs were considered to be the greatest, namely the urban centres of Lobatse and Francistown. These positive measures concentrated on the provision of "capital works and equipment such as community centres, clubhouses and sports fields."[1] The approved plan included financial provision for a clubhouse in each of the two towns, the object of which would be to "foster the welfare ideal" among the African "elites".[2] There were also funds set aside for a sports ground and stand in Francistown and for unspecified social welfare centres elsewhere, though the amounts available for the latter item were insufficient to cover the cost of constructing buildings, and consequently were used to purchase equipment for existing centres.

Whatever he may have thought about the concepts behind this plan, there seemed no alternative to the new Welfare Officer but to implement it. By April 1962 the clubhouse at New Look, Lobatse, had been erected although the government allocation had proved quite inadequate to complete the kind of building that a local inter-racial committee wanted. Financial difficulty was the least of the problems associated with the project, which struggled for some years, never evolving into a self-generating social club. More vital weaknesses, stemming from the conceptual origins in the mind of the former Welfare Officer, were present though not apparent at the time. The club was entirely "European" in concept, and its implementation depended not only upon

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1 Application for a Supplementary Grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund for Further Assistance to Social Welfare Work in the Bechuanaland Protectorate during the Period 1960-1964, under the CDW Scheme D 4605 approved by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations' Telegram No.16 dated 6th January 1961.
2 Ibid.

an understanding of this concept on the part of local Africans but also upon their active support and organisational ability: yet these factors constituted an entirely unknown quantity. There was no popular demand, and no preliminary discussions were held with the prospective clientele before the scheme was decided upon. Thus although the new Welfare Officer attempted to use participatory and educational methods in stimulating and guiding a local group to organise a club, such action was based on a shaky foundation: a decision made outside the community that a clubhouse was desirable and should be provided. The project may also be criticised on the grounds that it represented a strange choice of priority for "positive measures" in a township that had pressing and all too evident social needs amongst the lower-income groups: in housing, sanitation, provision of fuel and health facilities, to name but a few. In short, it was a classic example of a lack of critical preparatory investigation, justifiable neither in terms of 'objective' social needs nor as a response to local demand. The community development methods worked out in other British territories carefully eschewed such an approach and even the briefest acquaintance with these methods would have prevented the initiators from embarking on the project.

In 1962, however, such an acquaintance was lacking and the Welfare Officer felt obliged to find ways and means of making the building useful. The recognition of the obstacles preventing the establishment of a "select" club along the lines envisaged by Mrs Coppens led to a reformulation of policy: the building would be organised as a social centre open to all local residents with a programme to be organised under the guidance of the Assistant Social Welfare Officer.[1] Although the

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1 The name of the post and the department had been changed to "Social Welfare" in April 1963.

centre operated in this manner for nearly two years, acting as a general meeting place and in particular attempting to encourage leisure activities for youth, it never gained widespread or consistent support. At the end of 1963 the idea of a club reemerged, this time from a group of people who were prepared to organise it,[1] but after several months' fitful operation this second club also ceased to function.

This project, whose history reads like a tale of the blind leading the blind, had however a beneficial and quite unplanned result in its influence on the shaping of Departmental policy in the next few years. The frustrations of the experience provided a salutory lesson for the Welfare Officer whose inevitable involvement led to a vivid appreciation of the weaknesses both in the selection of the project, and in the method of its implementation.[2] The Department did not burn its fingers in the same way again, and on subsequent occasions the pressure for departmental financial assistance from well-intentioned groups and individuals who wished to sponsor enterprises of a similar nature was treated with critical care.[3]

The comparative success of the parallel clubhouse project in Francistown provided a happy contrast. Three factors seem to have been most significant. In the first place, and most important, there was a more appropriate social climate for such a venture. Racial prejudice was becoming a particularly lively issue, mainly due to the

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1 SWO to A.W. Kgarebe, Principal, Lobatse Teachers Training College, December 1963.
2 P. Wass, "Summary of Events leading to the construction of a clubhouse at Lobatsi, Bechuanaland Protectorate", unpublished paper presented at University College, Swansea, Department of Social Administration, 31 October 1962.
3 As in the case of the Serowe Social Centre. See below, pp.155-156.

activities of extremely right-wing whites, an element virtually non-existent or at least non-vocal in Lobatse. As a result both moderate whites and "westernised" Africans in Francistown appreciated that the need for opportunities for inter-racial social gatherings was a real one. There was, in short, a demand for such a facility from the group most likely to use it.[1] Secondly, in this group which also included most of the leading members of the Coloured community of Francistown, there was a body of entrepreneurial skill and organisational ability which could be put to good use in such a project. Thirdly, the District Commissioner, Phil Steenkamp, gave his most active and influential personal leadership to the construction work and the formation of the Mophane Club, which subsequently served its purpose in providing a convivial meeting place for people of all races.[2]

It is not surprising that the Welfare Officer rapidly became uneasy with the urban welfare policy he had inherited. Although he was as yet unclear about the form and direction any general re-orientation should take, by May 1962 he was shifting the emphasis and mode of operations. Two issues were now clearly recognised: the "select club" programme could no longer be considered a priority, and was perhaps not even a legitimate function for the Department; and secondly there was evidently a serious gap between the thinking of senior officials on the one hand and urban residents who were supposed to assist with and benefit from welfare work on the other. The conclusions drawn from this awareness were that community centres, situated and organised so as to be accessible and acceptable to the least privileged sections

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1 In fact a club for civil servants had been proposed independently in Francistown and was in an embryonic stage. Report on Welfare Work in Francistown 17-31 December 1961, dated 6 January 1962.
2 Report on Social Welfare Activities in Francistown, November 1963.

of urban populations, were a higher priority than clubs, and that as far as practicable existing local groups and organisations should be taken into official confidence when welfare plans affecting them were being formulated. From the vantage point of 1971 and an acquaintance with community development methods and the concept of popular participation in planning, such conclusions may seem to represent only a minimal step forward. However in the context of a climate of opinion in Government, in which the operations of the new Legislative Council[1] and discussion with tribal authorities were seen as constituting a real measure of public consultation, and considering that they had been reached not from any conceptual starting point but merely from observation of the local scene, these conclusions may be regarded as marking a turning point in the orientation of the Department's policy.

The immediate result of this new line of thought in the Department was the inauguration of a strategy of consultation in the main centres with any individuals or groups concerned with social development. The aims of the exercise were to elucidate local needs and to improve co-ordination and co-operation between these local groups, which usually included the Red Cross, Scouts and Guides, church groups and an assortment of sporting and recreational bodies. Discussions were held in Francistown in May 1962 when the issues raised were the allocation of government welfare funds, the type of social facilities most urgently needed, and the possible future development of welfare activities.[2] A similar approach was adopted in Lobatse, with discussion concentrating on the needs of Peleng Village, the area of the township in which the bulk of the lowest paid and unemployed residents were

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1 See above, p.24.
2 Personal notes, 9 May 1962.

crowded.[1] In Gaborone, the next most urbanised area, a request from the local branch of the Red Cross for government financial assistance for the construction of a hall met with the same response: the Department's view was that all the local welfare bodies should discuss their accommodation needs to explore the possibilities of joint facilities.[2] In the event, the community centre which was built some years later, largely due to the initiative of the Gaborone Homecraft Club, proved to be one of the most successful such projects in the sense that several local groups worked together over its creation and made active use of it once it was built.

The main rural centres were also showing interest in the idea of community centres, and in fact the first meeting in this series of local consultations was held in Serowe in connection with a social centre project.[3] In Molepolole, a community centre was seen as becoming a possible means of developing a desire for a higher standard of living amongst womenfolk in the hope that their pressure would encourage husbands to sell their cattle more readily,[4] thus releasing funds for home improvement and the purchase of household commodities.[5] This appears to have been the first time that a functional link between social welfare work and economic development was mooted, although conscious recognition of the link by the Department did not follow until a year or so later.[6]

This strategy of consultation, with pressure on local groups to explore their needs more thoroughly through discussion with each other,

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1 Personal notes, 18 May 1962.
2 Ibid.
3 Personal notes, 27 April 1962.
4 See above, p. 34.
5 Personal notes, 18 May 1962.
6 See Chapter 5 below.

soon began to have an effect as the case of Francistown illustrates. As a result of such discussions it was revealed that the provision of a sports ground, which was an item in the existing welfare plan and for which departmental funds were already ear-marked, was less of a priority than the construction of a substantial community centre in Tatitown, the African area of Francistown. There was no suitable building in Tatitown for holding dances, parties, wedding receptions, debates, public meetings and film-shows, and the most important feature of the community centre was considered to be a commodious multi-purpose hall adequate for these gatherings. It could also serve as a venue for youth club activities such as table tennis, judo and gymnastics. This new proposal seemed entirely reasonable: the Department approved and was able to switch funds accordingly.[1] Experience elsewhere indicated that it was unrealistic to expect such institutions to run themselves,[2] so it was agreed that the Assistant Social Welfare Officer, Clement Oliphant, would have his office in the Centre and devote much of his energies towards the creation of a suitable management structure, and the development of a useful programme of activities. The advantage of this arrangement was that apart from being on the spot to deal with community centre matters, he became much more accessible to the African residents than he had been when operating as hitherto from the District Administration offices, which were situated over a mile from Tatitown.

A substantial donation was received from the Tati Beerhall Trust, which with the government funds enabled the Centre to be built, com-

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1 Note on Social Welfare in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 15 June 1962.
2 The Marapalalo Hall at Kanye was a case in point. See below, p.155.

prising main hall with stage, library, kitchen, offices, storerooms and toilets. There was no mains electricity in Tatitown but a generator from a 'boarded-off' mobile cinema truck filled this need. Early in 1963 the building, named the Leseding Community Centre, was completed and in March Oliphant moved in. Some months later, as a result of his efforts, a Board of Management was formed, broadly representative of social welfare groups and sectional interests in Francistown. The Board was particularly concerned with adult education, which was mainly fostered through the medium of regular discussion groups. These meetings were well supported, usually drawing around fifty participants, though as might be expected their appeal was mainly limited to the better educated section of the community. Youth activities were encouraged, and the centre was used by the Scouts, Guides, Cubs and Sunbeams.[1] Apart from members of these movements 'unattached' youth were also welcomed at the centre, either to participate in activities such as judo, body-building, boxing and physical training or, if they so wished, merely to meet each other and spend time there. Two women's groups were associated with the centre, one of which, the Friends and Neighbours Club, deliberately sought to prevent itself from becoming selective in membership and 'socialite' in function, and became an effective agent in women's education and community welfare service.

By the end of 1963 the value of the Leseding Centre was generally recognised.[2] The intention of the Department was that, in addition to the activities carried out in the Centre, it would also serve as a nucleus for the pursuit of wider objectives in the field of social

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1 The name "Brownies" was apparently eschewed in favour of "Sunbeams" in order to avoid upsetting colour-conscious sensibilities!
2 Annual Report on Social Welfare Work in Francistown, 1963.

development.[1] To some extent this wider function was being carried out, although it depended mainly upon the particular skills of Oliphant and the service rendered by those groups, such as the Friends and Neighbours Club, which wished to make a contribution to local welfare through social service. The discussion group continued actively, dealing with such topics as "The Economic Future of Bechuanaland", "Woman's Place in Our Community", and "Delinquency in Bechuanaland".[2] In addition to being involved in the discussion group Oliphant was spending a lot of time organising activities for the unattached youth. Following his own personal interests he also concentrated on the development of sports in Francistown generally with emphasis on soccer, boxing and the increasingly popular tennis. By mid-1963 the Centre was attracting people from all sections of the local community, including political refugees.[3]

As well as attracting people who were interested in its activities, the Centre drew individuals seeking help with their personal problems. This phenomenon raises an issue which we can now see was of central importance to the evolution of departmental policy, though it was not clearly recognised as such at the time. Casework was still part of the Assistant Social Welfare Officer's responsibility[4] but the effect of the Centre on this work had not been anticipated. Being much more accessible to the less privileged people in Francistown now that he was working from the Centre Oliphant found that more individual problems came naturally to his attention than previously. Thus during June 1963

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1 Ibid.
2 Report on Social Welfare Activities in Francistown, June 1963. CD 6/1B.
3 Ibid. The refugees were people who had crossed over from South Africa for political or quasi-political reasons.
4 See above, p. 134.

he dealt with such problems as lack of financial support from the father to an unmarried mother, a woman from South Africa stranded with no funds or travel documents, three minor children whose parents were working in Johannesburg and Bulawayo respectively, and many cases of people needing blankets to protect them during the cold nights.[1] Obviously this was a useful function, but with many other demands upon them, Oliphant and his counterpart in Lobatse, who had a similar spread of responsibilities, did not have the resources to operate comprehensive and on-going casework agencies. Furthermore, with departmental policy stressing the development of community facilities and services,[2] there was little official encouragement to concentrate on casework.

In these circumstances, it was difficult for the local urban welfare officers to concentrate on one area of activity. Their social work training had given them skills and a degree of commitment in the field of casework, but their senior officer did not see this as a priority. He himself was aware of the personal strains imposed by the 'individual problem-local development' polarity. For example, during 1962 he had had to deal with cases of individual problems, including mental retardation, physical deformity and blindness both amongst Africans and Europeans. On several occasions his indications to the client that he did not see these personal problems as being his responsibility had been greeted with the response "Well, you <u>are</u> the Welfare Officer, aren't you? Whom else can we turn to for help?"[3] The frustrations concomitant with such experiences were a spur to

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1 Social Welfare in Francistown, June 1963.
2 Note on Social Welfare in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 15 June 1962.
3 Personal notes, 1962.

change both the policy of the Department and also its name, but due no doubt to inexperience he had not appreciated the need to enunciate a firm policy with clearly defined boundaries. Furthermore, being unsure of exactly what should constitute the legitimate programme, he was reluctant to make a clean break with existing practice.

In Francistown the Leseding Centre proved to be an important stimulus and focus for the Department's work. But the experience of the New Look Club-Centre in Lobatse showed that buildings by themselves did not constitute social development. Other examples taught the same lesson. In Kanye a fine building including a gymnasium, the Marapalalo Hall, was erected in 1960 as a community centre for the tribe following the well-intentioned efforts of Chief Bathoen II who, having decided that such a centre was desirable, had raised the necessary funds from outside sources and a small per capita levy from his tribesmen.[1] In 1965 an adjacent library building was erected, also through Chief Bathoen's efforts. Unfortunately neither project had any solid community support or even understanding, with the inevitable result that for several years at least they lay for the most part empty and grossly underused. The awareness that Marapalalo was something of a 'white elephant' prompted the Welfare Officer to respond to another project, the Serowe Social Centre, with considerable caution. In 1963, by which time departmental policy was beginning to benefit from some knowledge of international community development practice, this response was confirmed on a conceptual basis, and the local sponsors in Serowe were given warning that the question of community under-

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1 This recalls earlier tribal "self-help" measures in the educational field. See above, pp.51-52.

standing and support should be considered very seriously.[1] In the event, the warning was not heeded and for several years the Centre which was subsequently built did present endless problems to its committee as to how it could be made useful and meaningful to the community at large.

The desire, which resulted from these experiences, to keep involvement with halls and community centres down to a minimum and an associated wariness of any group that professed a desire to promote "social activities", so many of which seemed entirely remote from any real needs,[2] helped to point departmental thinking into more constructive directions. The very obsession on the part of these groups and of Mrs Coppens with social and recreational provision drew attention by neglect to economic questions; the faith in buildings shown by the same parties precipitated questions of organisation, personnel, and leadership. Future departmental development was to return to these issues.

Youth Work

The directive from the Government Secretary to the Welfare Officer in January 1962 had specified responsibility for youth work. Apparently the Secretariat felt that there was a need for a more active involvement in youth movements than Mrs Coppens had developed. On the face of it this requirement was easily met by her successor since he was in any case an active Scout leader. It was therefore a somewhat natural

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1 Since it illustrates the type of problems facing the Department in its relationships with local committees wishing to sponsor "social activities", the memorandum from the SWO to DC Serowe is shown in full at Appendix III, p.397.

2 For instance, the main concern of one of the few Batswana on the Serowe social centre planning committee was in promoting ballroom dancing!

development that he should in this respect re-introduce the interpretation of the role of Welfare Officer which had been so unmistakably established by Jack Leech. There was a revival of the pattern of touring the districts, meeting Scout and Guide groups and discussing problems with their leaders. Guidance and assistance was offered, often in considerable detail: the organisation of meetings, planning of programmes, keeping of records, standardisation and provision of uniforms, for example. During 1962 this work accounted for perhaps half of the Welfare Officer's time, and the parallel with Leech's role became even closer when in mid-year he was asked to assume the duties of Acting Territorial Scout Commissioner for three months while the permanent holder, Cecil McCalgan, was on overseas leave.[1] During this period Scout involvement became particularly heavy, including much of the preparatory administration for and several days' attendance at the national Scout Leaders' training camp at Mahalapye.

But the identification of the role of Welfare Officer with the promotion of the Scouts was not nearly so close as it had been under Leech. In the first place, there was far less personal commitment to the movement. Secondly, the urban welfare and community centre work had not only taken up a fair amount of time and energy, but it had demonstrated the need to look wider than the sectional demands of particular interest groups and the need to encourage inter-agency communication and co-operation.

There were, after all, young people other than those who were members of the Scouts or Guides. Oliphant in Francistown and Gregory Kewakae in Lobatse were developing youth activities on an informal

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1 See above, p.117.

and non-institutionalised basis. And there was the problem of purposeless non-school youth, the solution to which had been seen rather naively in 1960 in terms of better leisure-time facilities.[1] The first glimmerings of an awareness of the extent and complexity of this problem can be seen in the aide-memoire written by the Social Welfare Officer in 1963 for a Legislative Council reply to an Honourable Member's question about 'layabout youth' in Lobatse:[2] long-term solutions must consider preventive rather than curative approaches and would involve making rural life more attractive, especially in providing better economic opportunities for young people.[3]

These considerations quite naturally influenced the policy towards the Scout Movement. At the 1963 annual meeting of the Scouts Association, this policy was quite clearly spelled out in relation to three separate issues. The Boy Scouts Roving Commissioner, Jacob Sekgwa, was employed by the Scouts by means of funds provided by the Welfare Department. Explaining his proposal that Sekgwa should now have responsibility for the development of other youth activities, the Social Welfare Officer pointed out:

> Do not suppose that I wish to harm the Scout Movement in any way. I believe that... /it/ still has a very important part to play in developing good character in the country's youth. But being a voluntary, uniformed association committed to a very definite policy and programme, it cannot answer the needs of all kinds of youngsters. As Social Welfare Officer it is my responsibility to look at the Movement in relation to the whole picture.[4]

On government financial assistance the need to consider the claims of

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1 See above, p. 132.
2 Official Records of the Legislative Council: Hansard 9, 1963, p.13.
3 Draft reply by Social Welfare Officer to Legislative Council question by the Hon. H.T. Wharren, Member for Lobatse, 1963.
4 Address by Social Welfare Officer to the Annual General Meeting of the Bechuanaland Boy Scouts Association, Gaberones, 25 October 1963.

other forms of youth work was noted.[1] Finally, referring to the Scouts' and Guides' appeal for assistance to erect a permanent training centre for themselves, the Social Welfare Officer informed the meeting that his department was planning to establish a training centre where the facilities would be available to any youth movements, and that if the Scouts wished to make use of this centre they would be welcome. The rationale behind this approach was quite straightforward:

> I think that in a poor country such as ours, we must always be thinking how we can pool our resources with other groups in order to save unnecessary expenditure. And the information about a more general /training/ centre may help you in shaping your own policy.[2]

A turning point had been reached. From then on although Government continued to give financial support to the two movements, and indeed increased the grants, their links with the Welfare Department became noticeably looser. From the Department's point of view this detachment was essential if the needs of other categories of youth were to be considered without prejudice, and if the Department was to be in a position to objectively criticise and influence the movements' contributions to nation-building.

Welfare Planning

We have seen that the momentum of previously laid plans which required implementation, aided by the pressure of expectations regarding the Welfare Officer's role, meant that the welfare programme in 1962 adhered fairly closely to the two main strands already identified: urban welfare and youth movements. This pattern continued despite

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.

rather than because of the main objective of the Welfare Officer, which was to establish priorities based on a systematic assessment of the most useful role for the Department. The early changes introduced were *ad hoc* and specific in nature rather than planned or conceptual, though articulation of general policies on certain matters did begin to emerge in 1962-1963. An example of the initial lack of a clearly defined function oriented towards national requirements can be seen in the Welfare Officer's involvement, already described, with local welfare activities in Lobatse, where the welfare headquarters was situated. This local commitment diverted his attention from the national level, made it more difficult for him to make a clean break from the type of programme he had inherited and probably had a detrimental effect on the sense of responsibility of the local Assistant Welfare Officer. However, when it is remembered that the Welfare Officer had formerly been the District Officer, Lobatse, responsible to the District Commissioner, it will be appreciated that for him to have divorced himself from the local scene would have required an immediately clear conception of his new role coupled with the ability and determination from the outset to fulfil it regardless of the expectations of the District Commissioner or anyone else.

In addition to this involvement in local welfare problems, in fieldwork connected with the Scouts and Guides, and in clearing up the ex-servicemen's welfare work,[1] there was another reason for the inability to complete a general review of territorial welfare needs as had been the intention. Early in 1962 the Government Secretariat

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1 During 1959-1960 there had been no Welfare Officer, and this work was in disarray. Many Ngwato applications for assistance from the BSBF were still awaiting attention, having been held up during the tribal disputes of the 1950's.

required all departments to prepare 5 Year Plans for the period 1963-1968. Not only was this the first attempt at a 5 year plan for all sectors of the government, but for the first time the Welfare Department was treated as a department in its own right for financial and administrative purposes rather than as an appendage of the Education Department. Faced with what appeared to be an unprecedented task both for the Department[1] and for himself personally, and one for which he felt ill-equipped, the Welfare Officer consulted the Director of Education for advice and guidance, since the umbilical cord with the 'mother' department had not been entirely severed.[2] The approach was not productive. Frankly admitting that the matter was outside his competence, the Director of Education confessed himself unable to assist.

The most sensible procedure in the circumstances appeared to be to seek professional assistance. How could this be obtained most easily? Although official relations with the neighbouring states of South Africa and Rhodesia were cordial with a considerable amount of inter-governmental exchange, the governmental approach to "Bantu" or "Native" affairs differed in fundamental respects from the Bechuanaland Government's approach. Clearly they were unacceptable as models for future developments in the field of social welfare. Northern Rhodesia appeared to offer the most fruitful possibilities. As a British

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1 There had in fact been a Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme before: the one which had funded the clubhouses and community centres. See above, p. 145. However, being heavily oriented to specific urban welfare projects, and not being concerned with a general territorial strategy, this was not a particularly relevant guide.

2 The Government Secretary had instructed the Welfare Officer on appointment to seek guidance from the Director of Education where necessary.

dependent territory moving towards independence, but with a more advanced framework of government services, it was likely to have had relevant experience in social welfare which could usefully be shared with Bechuanaland. Accordingly the Welfare Officer requested permission from the Government Secretary to visit Northern Rhodesia to obtain ideas germane to the formulation of a territorial plan.

Despite the modest character of the request, it was refused, on the "cart before the horse" grounds that the first priority was to draw up the plan immediately and only after that had been done could arrangements for a visit be considered. The dictates of Treasury requirements were behind such a short-sighted decision. Finance for development came from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and unless detailed proposals were presented by a stipulated date then ipso facto there could be no allocation. This was at any rate the interpretation according to the regulations, though in practice Colonial Development and Welfare planning arrangements were revised so many times that plans often were worth no more than the paper they were drafted upon.[1] These inner workings of Colonial Development and Welfare funding negotiations were however quite unknown to the Welfare Officer, and even had this not been so much knowledge would have provided a risky basis for deciding to follow his own inclination and withhold detailed proposals at that stage.

Since no alternative course of action remained open, a plan for 1963-1968 was in fact drawn up, and accepted by the Secretariat without discussion or comment. Of the four sections it contained, three were in effect little more than extensions and clarifications of

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1 See below, pp. 164 and 166.

policies already established:

1. The further development of cinema and other audio-visual education.

2. The further development of youth movements. It was proposed to increase the direct grants to the Scouts and Guides, and to pay for the employment of an Organising Commissioner for each movement.

3. The development of welfare centres. Provision should be made not only for their construction and equipping, but also for the employment of staff to man such centres. Included in this section was provision for assistance to community projects in rural areas, grants to voluntary organisations, and direct welfare such as emergency feeding schemes.

4. The establishment of a community development team, envisaged as a mobile group of three or more suitably trained personnel who would visit selected rural areas for a few months at a time to foster community understanding of local problems, leading to community projects in the fields of agriculture, health, education, and other self-help activities such as dam-building, road-making and improved housing.[1]

Although the precise method of operation of the fourth item was as yet imperfectly understood, it represents the first formal statement of intention to introduce what is clearly recognisable as a community development programme.[2] The lack of either a conceptual basis or an acquaintance with detailed operation did not prevent community development being seen as the main future emphasis of the department.[3]

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1 Note on the Development of Social Welfare 1963-1968. [mid-1962]
2 The initial source of the idea of mobile teams probably came from some thoughts of Mrs Coppens, who seemed to be moving around to this approach in her last days of office.
3 Note on Social Welfare in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 15 June 1962. BNA 11396/15.

The principle of the plan was supported by the Director of Education, who even suggested that the financial allocation to the community development team be doubled, since it seemed "rather a small sum".[1] This suggestion was the sum total of discussion on the proposals.

In the meantime the Welfare Officer's repeated requests for some training had finally had an effect and it was agreed that he should attend a one-year course in Social Policy and Administration at the University College, Swansea, in September 1962. His subsequent absence permitted a significant switch of policy which would not have been possible had policy been discussed and agreed upon by a group of people, rather than being as it was merely the reflection of the ideas and inclinations of the individual officer directly responsible for its implementation.

Late in 1962 changes were made in the Colonial Development and Welfare arrangements resulting in a request for revised plans. In response the Acting Welfare Officer[2] submitted a scheme which, so far from building upon the community development approach that had been slowly but steadily emerging during the year, reverted to a remedial welfare emphasis. The existing allocations were to be continued without any attempt to give them greater internal coherence or consistency, the community development team proposal was deleted, and an entirely new project estimated at almost one-third of the total welfare development expenditure for the 5-year period was substituted. This latter item was for a Farm School to deal with juvenile delinquents up to the age of 18. Delinquency in the urban areas was considered to be

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1 DE to Member for Tribal Affairs and Social Services, 29 June 1962. BNA S.460, p.14.

2 From September 1962 to August 1963, the District Officer, Lobatse, P.B. Watermeyer, assumed responsibility for the Department on a part-time basis.

a major problem and this rehabilitative project was thought to be a constructive counter-measure in the struggle to prevent "an even larger proportion of the urban population [drifting] into delinquency and crime".[1]

This was a remarkable proposal. Apart from its divergence from the trend in welfare policy at the time, the value of the benefits to be gained from it were extremely doubtful. The total number of male juvenile convictions in 1961 throughout Bechuanaland was 112,[2] half being for cases of theft for which there were obvious social and economic reasons. The majority of the convictions were first offences. It is logical to deduce therefore that at the most only a handful of these boys could be considered in any sense hardened delinquents in need of "reform". Yet the Farm School was to house 60 boys using a third of the Department's total development allocation. The proposal was totally out of proportion and also quite out of tune with the current international trend in social policy towards more preventive measures. Such criticism were actively voiced.[3]

The proposal also raised the more general issue of the relationship between social welfare and community development. The Acting Welfare Officer, P.B. Watermeyer, wished to develop social work and therapeutic programmes. One opposing view was that the community development functions would "prove to be the most useful work in the long run."[4] Such differences had, of course, been encompassed in many

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1 Application for a Grant under the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme to meet the cost of establishing and maintaining a Reformative Institution for Male Delinquents in the Bechuanaland Protectorate for the Five Year Period 1963 to 1968 [October 1962].
2 BP Annual Report 1961-1962, Appendix V A, p.111.
3 P. Wass to C.J. Hunter, Director of Education, 20 January 1963, and to M.V. Redman, Development Secretary, 5 June 1963. Also P. Wass, "Social Change in Bechuanaland", 1963, op.cit., p.33.
4 P. Wass to C.J. Hunter, 20 January 1963.

other colonial territories; indeed, as has been shown,[1] colonial policy had long stressed the close relationship of the two aspects and countries such as Uganda and Ghana contained both functions in the same department. More directly pertinent, perhaps, an expert of international repute had recommended that in Bechuanaland social welfare and community development should be regarded as "two similar facets of the same activity".[2] This was all very well in principle but in practice did not provide much help in the dilemma of allocating resources within the tiny department.

Fortunately for the future of community development work further delays and changes in the budgetary arrangements for the operation of the Colonial Development and Welfare schemes prevented the Farm School and allied projects from being implemented. The 5 Year Plan remained in the files and instead supplementary provision was made to carry on existing schemes for the financial year April 1963 to March 1964. In the case of Social Welfare, since most of the funds had already been spent on capital items such as buildings and audio-visual equipment, this covered no more than the continued salary of one Assistant Social Welfare Officer, an allocation to cover the salaries of a Roving Scout Commissioner and Girl Guide Secretary,[3] and a small provision to enable some assistance to be rendered to voluntary organisations and self-help projects. The total for the year to meet all these requirements was £2,601;[4] hardly a sum with

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1 See above, pp. 89-90.
2 Peter Kuenstler, "A Note on Community Development in Bechuanaland", November 1962 (typescript). Kuenstler had undertaken a tour of the territory and the paper summarises discussions he had with the Resident Commissioner, R.P. Fawcus. See below, p.174 for further discussion of Kuenstler's visit.
3 The Guides had chosen this post in preference to a travelling commissioner.
4 Supplementary Grant for the Development of Social Welfare, CDW(D) No.7477, Colonial Office, July 1963.

which to develop an active territorial programme.

By September 1963, despite the shuffling of various development proposals, no new direction of work had been clearly decided upon nor had there been any significant increase in the flow of funds. The only new financial provision was concerned mainly with a continuing commitment to cater for the needs of urban Africans through the means of social centres.[1] But now came a renewed initiative in following up the 1963-1968 planning exercise.[2] On the day he reported back to Mafeking after his course at Swansea the Social Welfare Officer was requested to draw up his detailed Social Welfare scheme before returning to his station at Lobatse. "Deadline planning" was evidently still very much the order of the day. The task was duly accomplished, and was shortly followed by the preparation of a Community Development scheme adapted from a proposal for adult literacy work which had been made in mid-1963 by the United Nations Regional Representative.[3]

By comparison with the former succession of fruitless proposals and counter proposals, both schemes were successful: they were approved, money for the period up to March 1966 was allocated, and they were put into operation as part of the territorial development plan.[4] This was a considerable change of climate from the foregoing period, and from this point the Department gathered momentum as well as direction. The conviction that their most important role was the stimulation and encouragement of local initiative and self-reliance underlay both schemes, and in this sense their separate titles were

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1 Supplementary Grant, CDW(D) No.7477, op.cit.
2 Theoretically the 1963-1968 5 Year Plan had commenced on 1 April 1963, but in fact the printed plan containing the various departmental schemes did not appear until 1964. Development Plan 1963-1968 [undated].
3 Discussed in Chapter 5 below.
4 Development Plan 1963-1968, pp.54-55.

misleading. They were envisaged as being mutually complementary. The Social Welfare scheme which made provision for financial and professional assistance to community self-help projects, voluntary bodies and youth groups, was designed to give support to the adult literacy (community development) scheme. Its main objective was:

> the stimulation of local communities to meet their own social problems, especially in the larger centres of population, and to understand the value of local improvement by community development.[1]

Summary

During 1962 and 1963 the youth movement legacy from Leech, and the urban welfare legacy from Mrs Coppens were both incorporated in the welfare programme. The experiences gained in their application further modified departmental policy. The relevance of Scouting to many youth problems was queried; the "urban social centre" concept was seen to have many weaknesses. The rehabilitative and social security role of the Department was pushed into the background despite one major attempt to develop it. Reorientation was clearly towards the field of community development. But how and why had this reorientation come about, what kind of conceptual basis had it, and in what form was it expressed? How far did it go towards meeting the 1962 injunction "to do something about the rural areas"?[2] Already some parts of the answers to these questions have been alluded to in the events described above, but to obtain fuller answers we must explore the questions more directly.

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1 Development of Social Welfare, Grant of £24,1000, CDW(D) No.7653, CO, November 1963, sent under cover of SS despatch BBS/78/01, to Her Majesty's Commissioner, Bechuanaland, 28 January 1964.
2 See above, p.144.

CHAPTER 5

THE EMERGENCE OF A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT POLICY 1960 - 1965

When the Welfare Officer appointment was made in 1947 it was envisaged by the Secretariat that he would also develop mass education work, if not immediately then in due course when circumstances were more favourable. We have considered the reasons why mass education did not, in the event, become a major concern of his work. We have also seen that during the same period, the late 1940's and the 1950's, in the mainstream of African colonial policy mass education became part of a wider strategy of community development which in turn established strong links with social welfare work. In Bechuanaland, however, when the 'youth movement' phase was succeeded by the 'urban social work' phase, this did not reflect the community development-social welfare link evident elsewhere in Africa. Indeed, the two phases cannot be described as being linked together: their interrelationship was one of discontinuity rather than evolution. Further distinctions between the 'African colonial' and the Bechuanaland pattern are evident. In the former the community development influence had the effect of broadening the outlook of social welfare from a narrow concern with the alleviation of social problems towards constructive measures designed to make permanent improvements in the conditions of living, not excluding changes in the economic sphere. In the latter social welfare became almost exclusively concerned with short-term palliative and curative measures of a 'social' nature, which took little or no account of economic factors and hardly touched upon problems of living standards. Uneasiness with this situation in 1962-1963

on the part of the Welfare Officer led to several minor shifts in policy in the direction of community development, as we have also observed.

But processes other than dissatisfaction with the existing welfare programme were helping to influence this re-orientation. An awareness of the possible contribution of community development was brought to the Resident Commissioner from a private source; recognition of what certain local community groups in the country were achieving suggested new fields of activity for the Welfare Department; knowledge of international thought on social policy provided a conceptual basis for a preventive approach. Following a discussion of these contributory factors, this chapter describes the first attempts to introduce community development on a systematic basis, giving special attention to the problems which were encountered on the way.

The Instrumental Role of the Bamangwato Development Association

In October 1960 the District Commissioner, Serowe, wrote to the Government Secretary to ask for guidance in his dealings with the Pilikwe Development Scheme, subsequently renamed the Bamangwato Development Association. This privately financed and administered project centred upon a co-operative farming experiment which contrasted quite markedly with the government's own approach to local agricultural development work through the medium of an extension service to individual farmers. There was no reason, in the opinion of the District Commissioner, why the two schemes "should not exist side by side", but in view of the differences in policy between the two some confirmation of this opinion was sought from Mafeking.[1]

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1 DC Serowe to CS, 19 October 1960. BNA 9294/5.

The Pilikwe Scheme was ambitious and the initiator and driving force behind it, Guy Clutton-Brock, envisaged it expanding in stages, until in 1963 Stage 5 would include the establishment of a Community Development Training Centre costing £10,000 to be obtained by appeal in the United Kingdom. As things stood in 1961 the aims of the scheme appeared to be:

1 to provide work for unemployed young men;
2 to improve the economy of the village unit by
   (a) stepping up agricultural output through a type of producers' agricultural co-operative;
   (b) starting a co-operative store;
   (c) providing holding facilities and finance to enable the scheme to buy cattle from Africans at times of difficulty;
3 to improve social services and the amenities of the village life at Pilikwe
   (a) by establishing a clinic
   (b) by developing a village community centre.[1]

The subsequent vicissitudes of the Association's fortunes, and they were many, are not the direct concern of our study, though in passing it can be noted that the social objectives were achieved more quickly and with less doubts and difficulties than the economic ones. The relative failure of the latter over a number of years was due to circumstantial factors rather than to any inherent weakness in the general strategy. Included in such factors were inadequate professional supervision and managerial competence, and a certain naivety with regard to existing social, economic and political pressures. In fact, the priority given to economic objectives, the concern about unemployed youth, and the attempt to tackle a major stock husbandry problem, all forestalled government thinking in relation to village

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1 R.P. Fawcus, Resident Commissioner, to C. Clutton-Brock, 5 May 1961, summarising his interpretation of the aims of the scheme. BNA 9294/5.

development by several years.[1] For example, the agricultural extension services at this time concentrated almost exclusively on crop husbandry. Improvement of the cattle industry was being achieved through measures such as disease control, provision of watering points, and the introduction of selected bulls. In none of these measures was an extension approach adopted.

Government had given no financial or material support to the scheme until 1962 when a token grant of R60 per annum was made. The significance of this contribution is belied by its paltry amount for it had a bearing on the growth of official community development policy which may be summarised as follows:

1 it gave positive recognition to an approach to rural development which differed markedly from Government's own efforts;

2 it was due to the personal instructions of the head of the Administration, the Resident Commissioner, whose personal interests could be highly influential in affecting the direction of government activities. This lively interest contrasted, for example, with the situation of the Welfare Department which had not as yet attracted any significant interest at the top level;

3 the grant was to be administered from the funds of the Welfare Department: a somewhat unexpected arrangement in view of the divergence between the focus of the Scheme and the current activities of the Department. There is little doubt that the only feature of the Scheme which could have suggested some connection was the stated intention to develop a community centre. Be that as it may, the effect of the arrangement was significant. In the list of activities and organisations supported by the Department, the Bamagwato Development Association was clearly the 'odd man out', and because of this the Welfare Officer was particularly interested to discover

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1 See Chapter 7 below.

what the Association's programme was.[1]

4 the funds were to supplement the salary of a "development organiser" who would "get to know needs, test them and suggest how they might be met in consultation with the Headman and kgotla."[2] This was in effect a prototype of the role of the Community Development Assistants who were subsequently employed by Government. At this time, however, it was the only job of its kind in the country.

Clutton-Brock's ideas extended well beyond the Pilikwe Scheme and he was able to expand them in correspondence with the Resident Commissioner whom he encouraged to take a fresh look at the official methods of rural development. One of the conditions needed for rapid development was that Government should take the lead in establishing a suitable framework:

> I do not mean by this that Government should directly initiate and maintain projects nor that it should vastly increase its services maintained from the centre, but rather that it should stimulate and aid development at the local level and help establish the organisation whereby local projects may be maintained. This would require Government to be active in what is ordinarily known as 'community development' and I would think that some enquiry is needed as to how development may be stimulated in this realm.[3]

The approach advocated by Clutton-Brock received consideration by the Government to the extent that a project along such lines was to be included in the territory's submission to the United Nations Technical Assistance Board which was beginning to take an interest in Bechuanaland.[4] Clutton-Brock's personal discussion with the Resident

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1 At the time that he received instruction (verbal) to pay the grant to the Association in 1962, the Welfare Officer had no information about its activities whatsoever. Neither the nature of Clutton-Brock's correspondence with the Resident Commissioner, nor even the objectives of the grant were disclosed to the Welfare Officer at the time.
2 C. Clutton-Brock to R.P. Fawcus, 10 November 1961. BNA 9294/5.
3 C. Clutton-Brock to R.P. Fawcus, 10 June 1962. BNA 9294/5.
4 R.P. Fawcus to C. Clutton-Brock, 8 August 1962. BNA 9294/5.

Commissioner together with Peter Kuenstler, an acknowledged expert in community organisation,[1] furthered the official interest to the point where it was agreed that the Government should not wait two years before introducing positive measures about community development, as the Resident Commissioner had previously intended. It was agreed that a Commissioner for Community Development should be appointed in 1963.[2]

Departmental Recognition of Community Development

In 1959 the challenge of the Moffat Report had been met with a rather defensive stance; namely the listing of multifarious activities carried out by both government and non-government agencies, activities which had no common links of principle, organisation, or method. Whilst it was recognised that community development involves "almost every department, and every administrative officer", any attempt to establish a structure of co-ordinate these efforts or to initiate community development projects was rejected.[3] There were of course a number of "self-help" efforts being pursued, but it was not felt that any different approach by Government was called for.

During the "urban welfare" period 1960-61, there was little move towards community development, as we have seen. Some glimmerings of appreciation of the need to develop local initiative is noticeable right at the end of this period, when it was recognised that there was

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1 Kuenstler was visiting Bechuanaland as a representative of a London-based charity, the African Development Trust, which was responsible for financing the Bamangwato Development Association.
2 Peter Kuenstler, "A Note on Community Development in Bechuanaland", November 1962.
3 Leech, "Notes on the Moffat Report", 27 July 1959.

a "danger in Government-promoted social welfare activities that all the initiative and effort will come from the professional staff and that people themselves will sit back", and that it was important "that the people we want to help should help themselves."[1] But this recognition was contradicted by the programme with its emphasis on "providing and running the necessary amenities, without which no concrete results can be achieved".[2] A statement of the Department's position and policy was considered "not the place for a discussion of Community Development",[3] and opinion that in a nutshell sums up how far from the 'African mainstream' Bechuanaland was at that time.

By mid-1962, by way of contrast, following the change of staff in the Department, it was stated that the main emphasis lay in the field of community development.[4] The statement was more in the realm of hopeful intention than it was a description of the actual situation, for there was little programme to support it and even knowledge of the content and methods of community development was rudimentary in the extreme. Nevertheless, some of the ideas behind the statement were in fact very closely related to community development as practised elsewhere in Africa. That this should be so was largely due to two local projects being carried out in the country and which had attracted the Welfare Officer's attention.

The first of these was in adult literacy. The Dutch Reform Mission at Mochudi, assisted in the Bureau of Literacy and Literature in Johannesburg, was conducting a fairly modest exercise in teaching

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1 Statement on Social Welfare in Bechuanaland, late 1961.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Note on Social Welfare in Bechuanaland, submitted for the United Nations Survey of Social Welfare Services, 15 June 1962. BNA 11396/15.

basic literacy to church members. The project had considerable appeal as a prototype for a new field of activity which the Department could undertake: the relatively insignificant capital outlay,[1] the use of local volunteers as instructors, the obvious benefit gained by the learners, and the general air of 'grass-roots modernisation' commended it. It prompted the query: was this kind of activity not more constructive, useful and relevant than the provision and maintenance of urban social centres?[2]

The other local project which excited interest was at the village of Makaleng, in the Tati District.[3] The local school was building its own dam, with encouragement and assistance from Sub-Chief Ramokate whom subsequent enquiries revealed as an active leader in communal projects.[4] Further investigation showed that there was not a single government or tribal administration department with responsibility for assisting such enterprises. Individual District Commissioners did interest themselves in self-help projects as their personal inclinations took them, but there was no enabling machinery such as a self-help fund, no system of guidance on organisational problems, no straightforward way for the local group to obtain technical advice. The implication was clear: if the Welfare Department was to expand into the rural areas, was this not a ready-made gap which should be filled?

Thus, concurrently with Clutton-Brock's recommendations to the Resident Commissioner from the point of view of international experience

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1 A series of Tswana primers had already been prepared by the Bureau of Literacy and Literature for the Tswana-speaking people in the Republic of South Africa.
2 Personal notes, 14 June 1962.
3 Subsequently the North-East District.
4 Personal notes, 1 May 1962.

and development theory that the Government should engage in community development, quite independently, and based at least as much on criticism of its own programme and observation of local activities in the territory as on anything else, the Welfare Department was also coming to the conclusion that its main role should be in the field of community development. That these two processes were quite independent of each other emphasises how far removed in the mind of the Secretariat was welfare from community development.

Shortly afterwards, the opportunity to relate empirical deductions to international experience presented itself. While studying at Swansea 1962-63,[1] where he specialised in community development, the Welfare Officer was exposed to the considerable wealth of community development experience which had been gained in other African territories.[2] The effect of this training was to confirm and extend the tentative conclusions arrived at in the field in 1962. Kuenstler's earlier contention that social welfare and community development should be regarded as different facets of the same activity was fully accepted.

For the first time some basic tenets were introduced as principle guidelines for a social development policy, owing their origin to the study of other countries' experience:

> that preventive measures should be emphasised rather than remedial ones; help should be given to large numbers of people to improve their living conditions rather than to solve the problems of a few; and that the community should itself take part in these efforts at improvement rather than passively accept ready-made solutions by the government or other outside agency.[3]

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1 See above, p.164.
2 As summarised in the Colonial Office Community Development Handbook (HMSO, 1958), and discussed in T.R. Batten's Communities and Their Development (Oxford University Press, 1957).
3 P. Wass, "Social Change in the Bechuanaland Protectorate and its Relation to the Planning of a Social Development Programme" (unpublished dissertation, University College, Swansea, 1963), p.29.

In such a policy community development obviously had a very central place. The importance of literacy work was confirmed not, as had been envisaged earlier, as an end in itself, but as part of a wider programme of local development, particularly in its role of creating "the entering wedge"[1] presaging other locally inspired changes.[2] Community organisation for self-help was recognised as valuable not only for the physical and economic improvements it might bring but also the opportunities it gave for the development of local leadership, democracy and self-reliance. The implication of these several conclusions for the Welfare Department's operation was that less emphasis in the allocation of funds should be placed on capital works and more on the employment and training of staff: this would have greater effect for a larger number of people in the long run.[3]

Achieving Support for a Community Development Experiment

No time was lost in communicating and clarifying to the few junior members of the Department's staff the community development concepts which were to form the base for departmental strategy.[4] There was of course no reason for delay, since the Welfare Officer did not seek permission from the Secretariat to implement the new policy at least as far as the internal workings of the Department were concerned.[5] The policy of the Department had, after all, been little enough questioned by senior officials in the past, and there were no indications in late

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1 CO (1958), op.cit., p.22.
2 Personal notes, July 1963.
3 P. Wass to H.V. Redman, Development Secretary, 5 June 1963. BWA 11396/15.
4 Report on Social Welfare Activities in Francistown for September and October 1963, by ASWO Francistown. CD 6/1.
5 A copy of the dissertation outlining a social development policy (see footnote 3, p.177 above) had been sent to the Secretariat, but it was never discussed.

1963 that the position had changed. The Secretariat's mind was still overly influenced by bureaucratic requirements, in particular the meeting of 'deadlines' for the submission of estimates for Colonial Development and Welfare (CD & W) funds, and this tended often to push the consideration of general policies into the background. As long as the CD & W requirements were met and the total sums requested by departments were within the limitations imposed (often quite arbitrarily), then few questions were asked.

The concept of community development as understood through the Swansea training, however, involved not only a considerable change in the scope of the department's activities but also a degree of acceptance of that scope by other departments whose co-operation would probably often be required. Hence, it was necessary to draw attention to community development at the highest level.

Although a Legislative Council had been in operation since 1961, effective responsibility for government operations was still largely in the hands of Heads of Departments and District Commissioners. Under the chairmanship of the Resident Commissioner these officials met every year at the Administrative Conference to report on their work and to discuss plans. This provided an eminently suitable opportunity for introducing the proposed approach to community development, and accordingly a brief was submitted to the Administration Secretary, who at the Conference accordingly outlined the kind of local self-help experiments that it was hoped to try. Adult literacy was to be one of the first steps, and this together with subsequent community projects would be operated on the basis of encouraging initiative and maximum participation on the part of village people themselves.[1] Whilst there

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1 Minutes of the Administrative Conference, December 1963, p.19. RWA 10731.

was no question of community development workers usurping the functions of other departmental officers nevertheless the fact that they might be engaged on projects requiring varied skills meant that in many cases the co-operation of technical departments would be needed. Fortunately, no Head of Department foresaw any conflict here, though the need for full consultation was emphasised and it was agreed that to facilitate this some local committee structure would be useful.[1]

If acceptance and support on the part of the almost wholly expatriate Administrative Conference was essential for immediate and pragmatic reasons, there were political and conceptual reasons for seeking backing from the representatives of the Batswana. It was realised that their understanding and enthusiasm would be crucial, and would become even more important during the process of moving towards and into independence. Any new initiatives in community development therefore would have to start on the basis of such support. It would not be sufficient merely to have taken other civil servants into confidence. Accordingly it was decided to discuss the new policy with the Advisory Committee for Social Services, a committee of the Legislative Council. Such consultation was by no means standard practice in the Administration; indeed many plans in various sections of the government were still being approved solely through the civil service channels, partly because this was obviously quicker but also because there was reluctance on the part of many officials to expose plans to people whose opinions were not respected. Rule by civil servants died hard.

A general discussion of policy unrelated to any practical outcome would have been too poorly focussed to provide meaningful communication

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1 Ibid.

and would not have given the members of the Committee any specific purpose or sense of achievement. Fortunately there was a practical proposition to put to them for their consideration and ratification.

It was mentioned in an earlier chapter[1] that an adult literacy scheme had been prepared in the absence of the Social Welfare Officer in 1963. There was nothing untoward in this, for at the time of preparation there was no suggestion that it would be the responsibility of the Welfare Department. The United Nations Regional Representative had actually proposed the scheme, and the Department of Education had reluctantly assumed that it would be responsible for it. When it was discovered in the Secretariat that the Social Welfare Officer was interested in adult literacy it was agreed, also in his absence, that he would be responsible for its implementation and on his return from Swansea the scheme was shown to him for approval. Finding that it emphasised adult literacy as an end in itself and was not linked to continuing education or community development, he sought to change the emphasis. The revised proposal was that the scheme should be re-named "Community Development", reflecting a much broader basis. Its main objectives were:

1 to establish a pilot project in a selected area or areas,

2 the provision of community development training facilities in Bechuanaland.[2]

The first objective involved the selection of trainees who were to receive intensive training in community development methods at the National Training Centre, Tengeru, Tanganyika. Following successful

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1 See above, p. 167.
2 Application for a Grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund at a total estimated cost of £9,000 for the years 1963/66 to provide for a Community Development Scheme.

completion of training they were to be appointed as Community Development Assistants and posted to the selected areas. A more senior local person would be selected for training in community development on the course organised by T.R. Batten at the London University Institute of Education, and would then be appointed as Assistant Community Development Officer to undertake detailed supervision of the Community Development Assistants in their fieldwork and to participate in the training programme.

It was envisaged that the effects of this project would be felt on a broad rather than narrow or sectoral front. Economic development was seen as one of its goals, though

> The results of the project will necessarily be long-term and difficult to list factually, since they will be in the form of improved and increased participation in, and awareness of, the responsibilities of self-government at the local level. It is also expected to demonstrate that considerable improvements can be made to the local standard of living, eg. households, health, farming practices etc., based on the efforts of the people themselves, rather than because of extensive outside aid.[1]

The training element depended heavily upon obtaining the services of a United Nations Training Officer scheduled to arrive in the territory in 1965, whose assignment would be to train departmental staff and to provide community development orientation for field staff of other departments, local government officials, and community leaders, as well as in schools and colleges.[2] In the event, there was an unfortunate disparity between this intention and the subsequent incum-

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1 Application by the Government of Bechuanaland for Assistance in a Community Development Scheme under the United Nations Regular and Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. SWO to Member for Social Services, 17 December 1963. BNA A 10731, vol.2.
2 Request from the Government of Bechuanaland to the United Nations for a Community Development Expert, January 1964.

bent's interpretation of his role. He saw himself as being a general adviser on community development to the Government and consequently did not concentrate his attention on the problem of training. Thus the general analysis of training needs completed by the Department preparatory to his arrival was largely wasted. This situation illustrates how easily, even in such a relatively straightforward matter as this, communication between a recipient government and an external aid agency can be seriously at fault.

Whilst the detailed negotiations with the United Kingdom Treasury and the United Nations Regional Representative were being pursued,[1] the Social Welfare Officer submitted the revised scheme to the Social Services Advisory Committee for their approval. The Adult Literacy Scheme and its proposed replacement the Community Development Scheme were compared, and the opportunity was used for a presentation of a rationale for a general community development policy which it was believed would be needed once the success of the pilot projects had been demonstrated.[2] This policy envisaged the community development branch of government being largely concerned with adult literacy, women's work, youth work, and self-help projects such as classroom construction and water-supply improvement. There would be a need for considerable expansion in a few years but the immediate priority was to build a sound foundation based on local experience.[3]

The Committee had a lengthy discussion about the scope and nature of community development work and not a little enthusiasm was expressed.

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1 AS to UN Regional Representative, 31 October 1963. BNA A 10731.
2 Note by Social Welfare Officer on Adult Literacy and Community Development presented to the Social Services Advisory Committee of the Legislative Council, Lobatse, 1 November 1963. BNA A 10731.
3 Ibid.

There was no doubt that the "development from below" approach had a considerable appeal for the members. Indeed, they grasped the key elements of this approach more perceptively, and more warmly, than many officials in government departments.[1] Approval was a formality.

Implementation of the Pilot Project

Action could now go ahead. Early in 1964 selection of the first six trainee Community Development Assistants took place, an exercise which presented the usual problems of attempting to identify the most important qualities to be sought in candidates; a notoriously difficult and controversial task in the field of community development, where job specifications, if they exist at all, tend to be very loosely phrased.[2] Such general phrasing may of course be deliberate, as in this selection exercise there there was a considerable emphasis on qualities of personality - articulation; empathy with potential 'client' groups; judgment - rather than on technical skills or educational standard.[3] The minimum educational level was a Standard VI Certificate (6 years at primary school), the preferred level a Junior Certificate (8 years). In fact of all Community Development Assistants recruited in the next few years very few had the higher standard. Whilst at the level of village and inter-village work this proved quite suitable, problems were raised subsequently when promotions were considered to higher grade posts at district or sub-district level where such administrative skills as planning, co-ordination, supervision and evaluation

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1 Personal notes, November 1963.
2 A most useful survey of problems and methods on the selection of workers appears in T.R. Batten, Training for Community Development (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), Chapter 2.
3 See Appendix IV for a copy of the advertisement.

became more important.[1] The controversial question of the age of candidates[2] was settled in favour of du Sautoy's preference for fairly mature people[3] as more likely to be acceptable to villagers accustomed to giving respect to age.

Current methods in Government for the selection of junior staff were formal, standardised and far from searching.[4] For the selection of community development workers something better was needed. It was realised that there would be many applications for few posts and that some writing ability would be required in the work. Consequently applicants were invited to submit, in their own handwriting, certain specified details together with an expression of their interest. This acted as a screening exercise and avoided the filling in of scores of forms which would from the beginning have been doomed to rejection. Those that satisfied this first test were then invited to complete application forms and once these were processed a short list was drawn up of those who were to attend a final selection in person.

The final process took a day during which the candidates mixed with four members of the Department, taking meals and tea breaks as a group together. The main activities were: the writing of two simple

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1 This was a perennial problem in the organisation of community development programmes in India, as discussed by S.C. Dube, India's Changing Villages (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), in Kenya (personal communication, R.C. Prosser, formerly Director of Adult Studies, University College, Nairobi), and in Malawi (personal communication, J.A.K. Kandawire, formerly Community Development Officer with special responsibility for evaluation, Malawi Government).

2 Batten (1962), op.cit., pp.22-23.

3 P. du Sautoy, Community Development in Ghana (Oxford University Press, 1958), pp.7-8.

4 Basically, the completion of a form and submission of proof of qualifications, supported in theory by 'references', though the value of the latter often gave cause for doubt. Interviews were the exception rather than the rule. It should be realised however that in a situation where candidates with the minimum educational qualifications demanded were in extremely short supply and where a high proportion of applicants were automatically excluded for this and related reasons, this procedure was not so inadequate as it might at first seem.

assignments, one relating to village life, the other to personal experience; discussion groups at which one member of staff was present; and an interview with the four members of staff together. The first such occasion produced only four successful candidates from a total of twelve present: an indication that the process had raised the standard of selection (since the objective was to obtain six people), but also a warning that it was going to be extremely hard to find suitable candidates. The latter point touches upon another widespread difficulty in the organisation of community development: the disparity between the complex and demanding task given to professional workers, and the calibre of those workers.

With the selected candidates away in Tanganyika for their training, the matter of selection of the pilot project area had to be decided. Although the initial idea had been to put all the first six Community Development Assistants into the same district, a strategy based on the belief that concentration of resources was in this case a higher priority than obtaining a wide coverage or a variety of experience, political pressure modified this to two districts. To the Kgatleng District[1] was added the Tati District so that there would be a pilot project in each of the informal 'divisions' of the territory.[2]

The focus had to be narrower than that of an individual district. The achievement of changes at village-level was the objective of community development policy and the pilot project had to demonstrate in what way these changes could be achieved in the Bechuanaland situation.

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1 For reasons which are explained later the Kgatleng District was initially selected as the most appropriate area for the experiment. See below, p.189.

2 See Figure 5, p.31. These divisions had previously been formal, with Divisional Commissioners based in Lobatse and Francistown respectively.

Obviously national coverage could be attained much faster by using tribes and districts as the basic units, but this was unlikely to get to the 'grass roots' for which 'front-line' or village-level workers were necessary.[1] Local observations lent support to this view.[2] Consideration was thus given to the selection of village areas, based on the following principles:

1 Each area should be of limited size, with an approximate upper limit of 4,000 people. This was deemed necessary for the practical reason of not overloading the as yet untested Community Development Assistants as well as for the structural reason that the subsequent spread and growth of community development was envisaged as being a process of building 'from the bottom up'.

2 Certain favourable features would be sought based on the commonly advocated community development maxim that "nothing succeeds like success",[3] including specifically:[4]

2.1 a co-operative and 'progressive' headman;

2.2 a reasonably well developed 'sense of community';

2.3 some evidence of local attempts at improvement, or of an expression of 'felt needs';

2.4 the existence of a genuine possibility of such felt needs being achievable through local initiative;

2.5 the possibility of co-ordinating the pilot project with existing developmental work of other departments, in particular the agricultural extension scheme.[5]

In the event, of the six workers employed in the first year, only

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1 As indicated by the Indian experience as well as the British colonial programmes. See, for example, CO (1958), op.cit.

2 An informal survey of people living in Serowe, the tribal capital of the Bamangwato, had shown that the Tribal Administration (the forerunner of a District Council) was remote from the average tribesman, both in terms of general communication and in terms of its response to very localised needs. Personal notes, 27 September 1963.

3 CO (1958), op.cit., p.24.

4 It was realised of course that it might not be possible to find all of the favourable features listed in any one village.

5 Notes on the Selection of Community Development workers, 1964. CD W/J/1, p.88.

four effectively participated in rural community development in the two selected districts: one became pregnant and hence unfit for the work and another was posted to Gaborone, the new national capital, to do urban work.[1] The latter case illustrates how easily a fairly tight and coherent organisational plan can be affected by pressure exerted from a source external but superordinate to the organisation. Against the wishes of the Department, the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Local Government insisted that a community development worker must be posted to help alleviate conditions in the 'squatter' and low-cost housing areas of Gaborone, since this was considered an "urgent need". Thus one senior official's inclination could by-pass, at the point of implementation, carefully planned objectives and decisions of committees.

Bokaa: The Prototype for Village-Level Work

However, the four Community Development Assistants (CDA's) who did go to the rural areas all worked extremely hard and the effectiveness of their efforts was sufficiently recognised to secure in subsequent years an increased government financial commitment for this type of work. Fittingly perhaps, the pattern of this 'grass roots' development can be illustrated by the case of Bokaa village in the Kgatleng District, the very first village to be involved in the rural community development programme.

The Kgatleng District was suitable for the experiment for a number of reasons. A tribal area[2] of 2,798 square miles with a population of

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1 P. Wass, "A Case History: Community Development Gets Established in Botswana", International Review of Community Development, 21-22, 1969, pp.181-98

2 It should be remembered that although large tracts of the country were non-tribal the tribal areas contained the majority of the population. See above, p.29.

32,118,[1] it was of median size and population: in other words it was as near to an average district as one could get. Apart from its representativeness it had several other favourable features: (1) the people were known to be relatively receptive to change,[2] (2) there was a comparatively well-organised Tribal Administration, (3) the Chief, Linchwe II, was secure in his position, young, well-educated and appreciated the need for change at the local level based on the enterprise and mutual co-operation of the people, and finally (4) Linchwe, his tribal councillors and the District Commissioner were keen to see an experiment of this nature in the district, and promised support wherever they could give it.

With the district chosen, selection of the villages proceeded swiftly. Once the tribal councillors had been persuaded that the experiment would not be best served by posting the CDA's to Mochudi itself,[3] they agreed that Bokaa was the logical place to start. The village was a clearly identifiable community of 1,838 people,[4] a workable number. The headman, Raditladi Sue, fairly elderly, commanded a good degree of respect from his people but at the same time was well disposed towards the idea of change and improvement in his village.[5] Another advantage was that an Agricultural Demonstrator was already stationed in the village, and it had also been ascertained it would be

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1 Census 1964, p.44.
2 Illustration of this could be found in the tribal borehole "syndicates" organised for cattle water supplies, and in the greater adaptation to "western" house designs than elsewhere.
3 The district and tribal capital, with a population of 17,712 in 1964. Census 1964, p.55.
4 Census 1964, p.55.
5 Though subsequently the question of the influence of traditional authorities became controversial even in this village, as a letter from an agent of the Agricultural Department illustrated. See below, p.200.

one of the first villages to have an Animal Husbandry Demonstrator.[1] Finally, the location was convenient, its easy accessibility from both the district and national capitals, Mochudi and Gaborone respectively, would help to minimise supervision problems. It was envisaged that once a sound method of working had been established in Bokaa, the CDA could extend to the nearby village of Morwa (population 1,353),[2] and this larger operational unit would then be contiguous with the other pilot village in the district, Oodi, thus achieving the concentration of effort which was part of the initial strategy.

Both government and tribal staff discussed with the people of Bokaa the possibility of a development worker being sent to the village. The idea, vague as it appeared to the villagers at the time,[3] was accepted, and a positive commitment was made by the headman who promised to provide accommodation for the worker. The villagers were told that the CDA would be a young woman, but interestingly enough the few worried voices raised on this score were discounted by the majority.[4]

Miss Alfoncina Nyatshane[5] began work in Bokaa in January 1965, setting herself a first target of knowing and understanding the village and its people. Initially through the headman, and then by visiting individual families, she learnt about their tribal background, their beliefs and mode of living. At the same time she embarked upon a persistent social education endeavour, explaining the role and value of community development, the fields in which developments might take

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1 Extension work in animal husbandry did not begin in the territory until 1965.
2 Census 1964, p.55.
3 See below, p. 202.
4 In common with many parts of Africa rural leadership and decision-making was largely the preserve of the men, though older married women often influenced affairs.
5 Later Mrs Khiba.

place, such as agriculture, health, education and handicrafts, and the way in which these developments might be achieved. The importance of other agencies of government and of voluntary bodies was emphasised, with particular attention being paid to the need for co-ordination between all these organisations as well as with the Tribal Administration and local leadership.

Opportunities were taken wherever possible to indicate respect for the villagers' past achievements, the stress being less on the need for new attitudes on the part of the villagers than on the fact that community development was a new approach on the part of Government through which assistance could more effectively be rendered to local initiative and enterprise. An educative rather than exhortative tactic was employed,[1] on the assumption that lessons should be learned indirectly.

As a matter of policy all the CDA's had been instructed that getting a clear grasp of the local situation and gaining the people's confidence were more important than starting activities or creating structures in the early stages. On the other hand it was appreciated that in many situations "actions speak louder than words", so when a chance to initiate an activity arose almost immediately in Bokaa, the chance was taken. A literacy class organised by the Dutch Reformed Church at Mochudi had disintegrated because members had scattered to their arable lands (matshimo).[2] Alfoncina Nyatshane decided that it was not too late to revive it which she did by the unusual expedient

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1 The latter element became stronger in later years as the focus of development became more 'national' and the pressure for rapid change more intense.

2 Villagers spent much of their time at the lands between ploughing (November-December) and reaping (May-June), and this often entailed sleeping away from the village. See above, pp. 32-33.

of organising what she called "land-stations": classes at strategic points in the lands areas. This arrangement met with a fair measure of success and several intermediate literacy certificates were gained before people returned to the village.[1] The organisation of these classes proved extremely arduous for Alfencina: at one stage she was walking eight to ten miles on three days per week. It may well be that the most important result of this was not the literacy certificates gained but the deep confidence of the villagers which she won and which aided immeasurably all her subsequent efforts in the village. The literacy work itself subsequently became divided into three sections: an adult group of some thirty members, a youth class composed of seventeen girls who were too old to be admitted to primary school, and a night literacy class for over forty herd boys who during the day were attending the cattle. Progress in the girls' group was by far the most rapid, and in a few months nine of the members had obtained their first literacy certificates. In addition to literacy the group was also engaged in sewing and needlework classes. Although this work may not have represented 'functional literacy' in the now topical sense of it contributing directly to economic development and occupational efficiency, its value to the participants cannot be doubted and should not be overlooked. The Community Development Officer[2] observed in September 1965 in Bokaa "the joy and pride in the older people who are now able to cope with simple reading and writing".[3] Guy Hunter has pointed out that to the old people in Africa literacy is an insurance

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1 Report on Community Development Activities, Bokaa, January to June 1965, by A.M. Nyatshane, CDA.
2 The post of Social Welfare Officer had been renamed "Community Development Officer" on 1 April 1965, when the name of the Department likewise changed.
3 CD Newsletter, 1, 2, September 1965, p.5.

against exclusion from the companionship of the increasingly literate community: "To see the delight of an old woman, perhaps over 70, who is given a 'literacy certificate' by some bright young Community Development worker is to realise what this means."[1] He might have been writing about Bokaa.

It was perhaps natural that a women's group should form before long, composed partly of members of literacy classes. It was in fact one of the earliest non-affiliated women's clubs[2] outside the main centres. There was no need for stimulation from the CDA. Her contribution of organisational skill and knowledge of women's club work combined well with the common interest and motivation of the village women to produce a very active group which has continued to flourish. With few resources to begin with they started making useful household items, table mats and baskets for example, from local materials such as morathlhwa,[3] and with left-over scraps of cloth patch-work articles, notably bedspreads, were made. With funds collected from the sale of this work better materials could be purchased allowing a greater diversification of articles produced. The contribution of the CDA in homecraft skills was of course extremely valuable though it should not be thought that there was no contribution of such skills by ordinary club members. The significance of Alfoncina's role was in drawing out the latent ability and creativity of individual women, and using them for the benefit of the group as a whole. This can be seen in the

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1 Guy Hunter, Modernising Peasant Societies (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p.243.
2 The YWCA was fairly well established in the territory though its own expansion was being adversely affected by a belief amongst Batswana women that it was too heavily influenced by people of South African origin. Women's Institutes existed in the townships, but at this time were exclusively for Europeans.
3 A local bushy plant.

early insistence that articles made were to be considered as belonging to the club rather than to individuals and in the linking of local village activities to outside functions. To exhibit club work at the faraway Kanye and Serowe Agricultural Shows[1] would have been beyond the conception of local women. The result of this bold action was spectacular: first prize at Serowe for a bedspread which was then raffled for R21.00, together with four other prizes.

The economic significance of these activities should not be underestimated. In a small village which to all intents and purposes had no spare cash whatsoever, a profit of over R100 was realised in the first year of the club's life without once soliciting for funds or even asking members to pay a membership subscription. This pattern of development became commonplace in many women's clubs throughout the country in the next few years and made a very real contribution to the generation of local capital for community improvement. In addition to the economic achievement, there was the more nebulous but fundamentally important value of this method of working which was making a distinctive contribution to the national effort to develop a self-reliant and enterprising population. Evidence of an outward-looking approach is also seen in the club's sending of a delegate to Francistown for the first general conference of women to be held in Bechuanaland, in their providing hospitality to visitors to the village, and in their regular commitment of preparing soup daily for pre-school and school children.[2]

In late 1965 the time was ripe for the formation of a youth club. a modest programme of sports and other recreational activities had attracted many of the village youths, and from this number a small

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1 Together with the Francistown Show, which was dominated by Europeans, these were the most important shows in the country.
2 CD Newsletter, 1, 2, September 1965, p.13.

group began first-aid classes. This in turn led naturally to the growth of a Red Cross group, ably led by Mrs Rampa, a qualified nurse who was running a clinic in the village. The Red Cross group started a pre- and ante-natal welfare clinic in association with the existing institution, providing a baby-weighing service for mothers as well as issuing additional vitamins, powdered milk and other food supplements.

But these activities were all in a way 'sectoral'; fields in which community development staff could often play the role of extension worker. In this sense the work of the CDA was merely providing an additional range of activities to the existing services as in schools and agricultural extension. If the wider aims of community development were to be achieved, then ways and means had to be found to make the services of other government agencies, and indeed of voluntary agencies, more effective. There was no mechanism of any kind for co-ordination between government agencies below district level,[1] no systematic arrangement for taking up matters of local concern which fell outwith the normal confines of each department's operations. There was of course the headman, who had recourse to the Chief and Tribal Administration, but the tribal system was more attuned to matters of customary law and straight administration, such as tax collection, than to development. Clearly a modernising village-level community organisation was required.

One of the reasons why the first CDA's were sent to Tanganyika for training was that the structure and organisation of Community Development there had appeared to provide a suitable model to guide

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1 Even at district level such co-ordination was rudimentary and ad hoc, dependant entirely upon individuals and not part of any deliberate policy or structural arrangement. See below, p. 282 ff.

Bechuanaland. In particular the Village Development Committees had presented themselves as appropriate and valuable institutions. The Committees were supposed to serve as a channel for all purposes of development administration in the villages. The inauguration of the Bokaa Village Development Committee (VDC) in late 1965 therefore was a crucial development, since its performance would be one of the key factors in determining whether the Community Development Department was to have a more central role than merely the provision of additional social services in villages. The general approach to the formation of these bodies was decided as a matter of departmental policy, but in the early stages of the project it was considered more useful to allow each village to work out its own details of responsibility and method of working. In this way a more fruitful two-way communication between village experience and headquarters planners could be developed. It was envisaged that after some years of experience with VDC's, their terms of reference and mode of working would be systematised more rigorously according to a national model, but in the event it seems as though this had not taken place by 1969.[1] The aims and objectives which the Bokaa VDC spelled out for itself merit detailed consideration:

1 Seeing to the development of the village.
2 Discussing its problems.
3 Making development plans and seeing them fulfilled.
4 Bringing co-ordination between other departmental activities.
5 Asking for assistance from the district specialists.
6 Applying for help and advice from the Community Development Department if necessary
7 Organising some local training for VDC members; short courses for office bearers etc.

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1 See below, p. 281.

8 Arranging a programme of projects according to their importance.

9 Explaining education for adults and children.

10 Increasing the economy of the village besides farming, eg. handicrafts and co-operative societies.

11 Encouraging better housing in the village.

12 Encouraging better methods of farming using scientific methods etc.[1]

These functions were clearly not the monopoly of the Community Development Department, though the Department was intimately concerned with the operation of the committee as an institution. In its own words and without the use of jargon, the VDC had set itself an ambitious though realistic job to do. It had unequivocally identified itself as the one body concerned with all and any development in the village; discussion would precede action, though it was realised that the implementation of plans was inextricably associated with their preparation; the concept of priorities was grasped; active 'development from below', drawing upon outside expertise as necessary, rather than passive compliance with 'imposed' development, was to be the keynote of operation; there was recognition that the VDC's own competence would have to be progressively enhanced; economic development was to be an essential concern, in particular better agriculture.

The first problem selected by the VDC for attention was in fact an economic one. For cattlemen, the marketing of hides and skins, if not as important as that of the beef itself, represents a valuable source of revenue. The traditional pattern of selling to local traders had become unprofitable. Active work by the VDC however concluded in a satisfactory arrangement being made with the Bechuana Export Company

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1 Annual Report of CDA, Bokaa, for period January 1965 to April 1966, dated 11 May 1966.

in Lobatse which cut out the necessity for a middleman, thus substantially increasing the return to stockowners. The first consignment of 294 skins was successfully despatched, with a minimum price per skin of R1.50, compared with the highest offer of 30 cents obtainable from local traders.[1] On the transaction alone, a minimum increase of R352 had thus been realised. This reflected a dramatic increase in village income, made possible through the ability to communicate direct to a national organisation and the ability to organise transport arrangements. In other situations or societies such achievements might seem very small, but the fact remains that had the CDA with the Village Development Committee not been present to apply their minds to the problem there would have been no change in the arrangements and the potential income would have been lost.

As well as the developments already mentioned, by April 1966 when the initial period of the pilot project expired, a house for the CDA and a house for schoolteachers had been built by village labour.[2] At this stage the progress in Bokaa, and the other pilot villages of Oodi and Makaleng, had been sufficient to persuade the Government that this method of village development was worth expanding, and consequently substantially more funds were allocated for the employment of CDA'S.

Notwithstanding several changes of CDA, the momentum at Bokaa was maintained. In mid-1968, the women's club was as active as before though with a reduced membership, the local branch of the Red Cross was firmly established with a membership of 80, the youth club with 44. A Thrift and Loan Society had been formed and held capital of over R400.

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.

a Cattle Marketing Co-operative had 19 members, and 11 stockowners had joined in a borehole syndicate.[1] Pre-school and school feeding was still being carried out by the Red Cross and Women's Club and literacy classes were still being supported. Several village projects had been undertaken: an extensive communal garden; two extra classrooms for the primary school; a substantial dam close to the village; a community centre nearing completion. Brickmaking was proceeding apace for a further two classrooms and an extension to the clinic. The five miles of 'feeder' road joining Bokaa to the main roads had been widened and straightened. The school pupils themselves were engaged in construction work on their school, something that would have seemed impossible a few years earlier.[2]

The new clinic, a 4-roomed building, was completed by late 1969 by which time the two classrooms as well as a local office for the District Council had been finished. The communal garden was bringing in a regular annual income, a football club and a 4-B[3] club had been formed, and the Mines Labour Organisation had given well-deserved recognition to all this effort by donating R800 for furniture and equipment in the community centre.[4]

The Pattern of Work and Attendant Problems

The same basic pattern as had proved effective in Bokaa was used by CDA's in other villages: gaining the confidence of the people by showing that the CDA was not there to impose Government's will but was prepared to be influenced by local wishes; making an informal survey

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1 A co-operative venture in which the stockowners resources were pooled to pay for the drilling, equipping and maintenance of a borehole or boreholes, together with mutually agreed regulations governing the grazing of cattle.
2 Personal observation, July 1968.
3 A young farmers' organisation modelled on the 4-H Movement of the USA.
4 Personal communication from Mr Churchill Kgathi, CDA Bokaa, 17 December 1969.

and getting to know the local way of life; moving into action if a suitable opportunity presented itself; establishing a VDC after which further developments would be more systematically planned according to local priorities. Naturally the detail and speed of development varied considerably from place to place and undoubtedly Bokaa was one of the most rewarding examples of village development, but many other villages progressed with equal energy and imagination.

The work was not without its difficulties. Living conditions for the CDA's could be very hard, no more so than for the villagers perhaps but since the CDA probably had a different set of expectations, and certainly was required to work in a different way from the villagers, such trials were likely to be very testing:

> Then, after we dispersed, I was taken to the house in which I live now...it is a small rondavel.... I was told there was no water; the little they have is being drawn quite a distance, it is about a mile away from the village. The water is being drawn from dams, and these belong to individuals, not the whole community... anyone who wants to draw water is required to pay R1.CC per year. Therefore I was bound to pay the sum of R1.CC.[1]

Obstacles to change attributable to traditional beliefs and practices,[2] and village conservatism in general, provided the least of the difficulties. Not that such problems were non-existent. Even in the successful village of Bokaa, where the Headman was being very co-operative, the latent conflict between the established methods of administration and a more dynamic and "democratic" set-up was felt. In an oblique reference to Bokaa, the Animal Husbandry Extension Agent bemoaned the hampering effects of tribal beliefs.[3] It is probably true to say,

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1 Report from Louis Chengeta, CDA, Oodi Village, Kgatleng District, CD Newsletter, 1, 1, August 1965, p.7.

2 See for example G.M. Foster, Traditional Cultures and the Impact of Technological Change (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), and E.H. Spicer, Human Problems in Technological Change (New York: Wiley, 1952).

3 CD Newsletter, 1, 3, October 1965, p.11. Since this illustrates the antagonism lying below the surface in many villages, the letter is reproduced in full at Appendix V, p.400.

however, that the attitude of the CDA's was much more tolerant of and sympathetic to the traditional customs than was that of extension agents of other departments. Their training had emphasised the importance of understanding social factors and of establishing a working relationship with traditional structures rather than attempting a direct confrontation.[1] The CDA at Makaleng found that such an approach paid dividends.[2] In the particular circumstances of village development and where the programme is one of gradual building up rather than radical change, both the developmental add conservative elements of community development may not conflict obviously; in fact, as here, they may combine to advantage. But masked in such a situation is a degree of ambivalence between on the one hand the pressure for change in response to outside standards and demands, and on the other the desire, apparently inherent in community development philosophy, to preserve what is "good" in a society and to "cushion the effects" of change. Such ambivalence becomes more pronounced when national development plans take precedence over local wishes, and the desire to reduce it appears to be a contributory factor in the more directive role which community development administrations are given by African governments, such as Ghana under Nkrumah and Tanzania, that are strongly leftist in ideology. In an altogether different milieu, the strong links which community development in the USA and in Britain have with working-class and underprivileged cultures and with citizen participation often in defiance of and directed against established authorities and their plans, also serve to highlight the ambivalence. In terms of the inter-

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1 This issue is raised in the survey of attitudes to development undertaken in 1968. See Chapter 8 below, p.

2 Report on CD activities, Makaleng Village, by J.B.D. Malotle, CDA, July 1965.

pretation of community development at an international level, these apparent inconsistencies require much more critical examination.

Much more insistent and frustrating to the operation of the community programme were administrative problems. Shortage of transport for staff and materials continually impeded progress. The lack of adequate supporting services also often limited the scope of the CDA's work. The resistance on the part of other government departments to tackle development problems holistically instead of within the confines of their specialist knowledge and programmes, also reduced the effectiveness of the community development strategy.[1]

The best indicator of the success of the work was the response of the people to the efforts of the community development field staff. Despite the inevitable disappointments and frustrations the tendency was clearly towards greater public confidence in the Department. Recognition of the value of its method of working was evidenced by the increasing demands from Members of Parliament, tribal and village leaders, for CDA's to be posted to their areas.

The Headman of Bokaa, addressing the Community Development Officer at a kgotla in 1966, said "When you sent that young woman to us we did not know what it was all about, and we were a little afraid. We could not have guessed what wonderful changes she would bring. You have shown us the way and we shall call you Rra-Tshela."[2]

Some years later another Bokaa villager reflected, referring to the introduction of community development work:

> Seeds fell in good soil....None of you people [the CD Department] wasted his or her energy in vain.... You lit the candle and it is burning and is circulating the whole Botswana.[3]

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1 Reports from CDA's and ACDO's continually raised these points. Personal observation in 1968 indicated that they were still important.
2 "The Guide": literally, "father of the road".
3 Personal communication from Mrs A Rampa, Bokaa Village, 10 December 1969.

Summary

Both territorial and international influences contributed to the emergence of a community development policy and programme. In 1962 uneasiness with his inherited two-pronged social welfare function of uniformed youth movements and paternalistic urban recreational provision gave urgency to the Welfare Officer's search for more relevant and meaningful avenues of work and the conceptual bases for them. Partial answers to this search, or at least the inspiration leading to answers, were afforded by reflection upon the initiative and efforts demonstrated by local groups in the fields of adult literacy and community self-help.[1] Neither group, it should be remembered, was receiving assistance of any kind from Government: this fact, together with the subsequent discovery that there was no government or tribal administration organisation geared to the task of meeting requests for assistance from such local groups, made a marked impression on the Welfare Officer. His conclusion was that the Welfare Department should organise itself to play this missing role. The activities pursued by the two local groups presented themselves as meeting genuine and important needs. Literacy work held great potential for development of the individual; group and community organisation for environmental improvement. Even at this early stage in the evolution of thinking on community development, therefore, we can observe the emergence of the two commonly recognised facets: education and organisation.

One further point of interest is connected with the second of these local group projects. The fact that it was a community project to construct a dam, and not, for example, to erect a social hall, had

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1 See above, pp.175-176.

significance. We have noted that the Welfare Department had serious misgivings about the value of such halls.[1] The provision of improved water supplies was, however, another matter entirely: its value to the local community was obvious and unquestioned. We may generalise, therefore, from these examples to note the emergence in welfare policy of a scale of priorities: it was recognised that some types of community project were more meaningful than others and that, implicitly, if the Department was to be involved in assisting these projects it would ipso facto be involved to some degree in the process of choosing between them. It is necessary to note this early acceptance by the Department of some responsibility for the ordering of priorities as it helps to explain the fact that in the subsequent evolution of community development the entirely non-directive approach, allowing local communities to choose their own projects without being influenced by the external agent, never really figured prominently as it had in the early days of British colonial community development of the 1940's and 1950's.

Guy Clutton-Brock's influence may be considered an external factor. By drawing the attention of the Resident Commissioner to the experience of other countries, he contributed to the growth of awareness in the Secretariat of community development's potential role. As pointed out above, this growth was slow enough,[2] but the personal interest of the Resident Commissioner was undoubtedly one of the factors in the obtaining of speedy approval of the pilot Community Development Scheme. The other major external factor was the influence of the Welfare Officer's training at Swansea.[3] The principles of community development

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1 See above, pp.155-156.
2 See p.188.
3 [illegible]

provided a conceptual basis consistent with observations and deductions in the field; and knowledge of what was being done in other countries provided guidelines for the development of a Bechuanaland programme.

The pilot project demonstrated the potential for grass-roots self-help. It was seen that community organisation could have economic as well as purely social benefits. The Community Development Assistant and the Village Development Committee were established as key elements in village development; a position still held today.[1]

The tangible, visible improvements in village life and organisation resulting from the experimental work in Bokaa, Oodi, Makaleng and their surrounding villages were noticeable enough to ensure continued and expanded Government support for this type of operation.[2] From the conceptual point of view, however, they were only the practical products of a more general strategy. This did not envisage the Community Development staff as necessarily being the only, or indeed the main agents of change, but rather:

> the Community Development Department's most important role and contribution to the development of the country can and should be to form the main link between central and local government on the one hand, and the ordinary people on the other.[3]

The purpose behind the formation of the link was to meet the need expressed in the policy statement on the draft Public Expenditure Programme 1965-1968 which stated that development overhead expenditure would be wasted unless the general level of receptivity to new ideas

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1 See National Development Plan 1970-1975, p.114.
2 In 1966, 12 new CDA trainees were recruited and underwent a one-year training course organised jointly by the Department of CD and Swaneng Hill School.
3 Note on Development Proposals, CDO to CD Adviser, 14 October 1965. CD 22/1.

and techniques on the part of the peasant farmers was raised through an improvement in rural education.[1] The practical achievements in the villages which resulted from the combination of informal adult education and community organisation methods adopted by Alfoncina Nyatshane and other CDA's should be seen in the light of this wider goal.

The basic demonstration of village development through the use of community development techniques had been given by the pilot project.[2] Many other aspects of community development, however, required attention. At the end of 1965 the time was considered ripe for a searching review of policy in this field, and in particular of course, the role, programme and administration of the Department itself. The review, based on an 8,000 word document, included general strategy and the need to establish clear priorities; adult literacy; social, cultural and recreational work; youth work; training of staff at international, national and local levels; orientation training for officials of local authorities and other departments; civics courses in schools; association with the Extension Department of the University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland; external aid; inter-departmental co-ordination; and relationships with voluntary agencies.[3] Of particular concern was the locus of responsibility for decision-making on policy matters. Since 1947 the Welfare Officer, and subsequently the Community Development Officer, had in practice been responsible not only for execution of the Department's programme, but its policy as well. The elected Democratic Party Government of Seretse Khama had been in office since

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1 Ibid.
2 "Community Development Pilot Project", Cabinet Note, 31 May 1965.
3 Advisory Notes, CDO to CD Adviser, 14 October 1965. CD 22/1.

April 1965, and the Department was anxious that adequate machinery should be established to ensure that community development policy was in practice as well as on paper determined by the representative Government, leaving the civil servants in the Department to carry it out.[1]

At the turn of the year 1965-1966, then, it appeared as though this critical examination would lead to greater clarity of the rationale of the community development operation at the same time as both broadening its scope and improving its standard of performance. In the meantime, however, developments in a sphere quite outside the control of the Government, let alone the Department, were leading to an abrupt cessation of this process of refinement for nearly eighteen months. That sphere was the weather.

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1 Note for discussion on Community Development Policy [January 1966]. CD 2.

CHAPTER 6

THE IPELEGENG PROGRAMME 1966-1967

One of the most striking natural features of Botswana is the lack of water,[1] the resource prized by the people above all other, as the national motto "pula" ("rain") emphasises. For the vast majority of Batswana the annual seasonal cycle of life depends directly upon the rainfall pattern: its timing, quantity and intensity. In good years there is a surplus of crops and cattle become sleek on the strong growth of grass. In poor years there are few crops, indeed many farmers will not even have ploughed because the ground was too hard or perhaps merely because of a fatalistic resignation. Had drought become a regular annual experience, over the generations the Batswana might have adopted a way of life more suited to its rigours, but with the years of good or adequate rainfall being more common than those of drought such adaptation was not feasible. In this situation the unpredictability of the rainfall is very dangerous.

From year to year life revolves around the hope of good rains. When December comes and precipitation still holds off, prayers for rain become more than a matter for churchmen only; they become a national concern in a situation where no mortal ingenuity yet discovered can open the skies in the desired way.[2] Conversations are

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1 Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Swaziland: Report of a Survey Mission (HMSO, 1960), p.23.

2 See for example "President Calls for Week of Prayer for Rain", Daily News, 14 December 1970. The effectiveness of this action was acknowledged the following week by the leading item in the Daily News: "Prayers for Rain are answered", Daily News, 21 December 1970.

dominated by the topic. Not only cattle watering points but also village supplies may dry up, causing immediate hardship.[1]

When several drought years follow in succession, this hardship assumes an additional degree of severity. Plough oxen, having had poor grazing and scanty water during the previous year, are in no fit condition to pull the plough through the hard-packed soil in preparation for the next season's planting. Domestic surpluses of grain and other crops have all been used up. Cattle die or have to be killed, often reflecting a lost capital asset since the abattoir cannot buy all the beasts available at such times. Talk of "development" in these conditions is for many a poor joke: the problem is at best the avoidance of economic disaster, at worst sheer survival.

1965 was the fourth successive year of drought in Bechuanaland. Crops failed entirely and over 200,000 head of cattle, one-sixth of the national herd, died of starvation. This represented not only many personal tragedies, but a national disaster. Widespread loss of human life was only avoided by quick and effective relief measures on an international scale, mainly upheld by the World Food Programme and the UK Government. Towards the end of the year 105,000 people, some 20% of the population, were receiving emergency famine relief rations.[2] By November the lack of rains for early ploughing was confirming fears that there was to be no let-up: the likelihood that there would again be massive crop failure in 1966 was growing into certainty.

The World Food Programme (WFP) expects recipient countries, during the normal period of an emergency feeding programme, to prepare schemes of social and economic benefit for which WFP may supply food. Once the

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1 Villagers may have to work for hours to get a few cupsful of water. At Mmutlane village, for example, a 2-gallon bucket could not be filled from the local well in six hours. Daily News, 27 August 1970.

2 An Annual Report 1965, p.8.

prolonged nature of the drought in Bechuanaland became apparent, officials turned their attentions to this matter. In fact, quite apart from the WFP requirement, the growing dependence upon these food supplies and the demoralising effects of such dependence were beginning to worry a number of people both in and out of government. WFP food was clearly going to be needed after the expiry of the famine relief feeding programme on 30 June 1966, but to prepare any kind of sophisticated social or economic development plan specifically tailored to WFP requirements was out of the question due to shortage of time and inadequate planning resources. On the other hand, the country had a long tradition of communal organisation, and during the previous year village improvement as an activity of government had promised encouraging dividends through the community development pilot project. It was considered that by enlisting the resources of the District Administration, local government and technical departments, by compulsion if necessary, this kind of work could be rapidly expanded to a nation-wide scale.

The Decision to Link Emergency Feeding with a Community Development Scheme[1]

In December 1965 such a scheme was submitted to WFP. The basic strategy was that lists of suitable local development projects covering all drought-affected areas[2] would be drawn up and implementation of the projects would be by local labour, with each worker drawing WFP rations. In the choice of projects much would

> depend upon the existing needs of the community as expressed by the community through their leaders and which will be of direct benefit to the community.[3]

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1 WFP used the word "Project". In this text to avoid confusion "scheme" and "programme" will be used to describe the country-wide operation; "project" to describe specific local activities.
2 In practice, this meant the whole country.
3 Project Request to the WFP for a Country-Wide Community Development Project, Bechuanaland, December 1965.

Within this general policy, it was envisaged that projects would fall into nine categories, either relating to residential centres[1] or to the countryside. The first group comprised: self-help housing; classroom construction; public housing construction (eg. for teachers); formation of builders brigades, following the model of the Swaneng Builders Brigade;[2] and "urban" improvement schemes such as tree-planting, market gardens, and sanitation. In the "rural" group were: dam building; road construction and improvement; bush clearance and destumping of arable lands; and soil conservation.[3]

The objectives of the scheme were both curative and preventive:

(a) to foster the spirit of self-help and self-reliance;

(b) to enable essential capital works programmes to be undertaken using labour intensive means;

(c) to provide temporary incomes for 60,000 family units during a time of drought; and

(d) to increase the means of production and marketing capabilities of rural areas so as to hasten the recovery from the drought syndrome and to widen the agricultural base.[4]

Subsequently, once the scheme had got under way, these objectives were shuffled into a more realistic order, with the priority objective being to relieve the hardship.[5]

Preparing for the Scheme

Since the operation was to be so large, involving a wide range of activities which would require close co-ordination, a special organisation directly responsible to the Prime Minister's Office[6] was set up,

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1 Misleadingly described as "urban" projects. See above, p.32.
2 Builders Brigades are discussed in Chapter 7 below, p.264 ff.
3 WFP Project Request for a CD Project, December 1965.
4 Ibid.
5 See Report on Ipelegeng Self-Help Project, for Swedish International Development Agency, October 1966.
6 After independence on 30 September 1966, the President's Office.

with the ugly name of the Relief and Rehabilitation Unit. This was to be responsible for all aspects of the Community Development Scheme, as well as for the administration of two other WFP schemes; one for the supplementary feeding of school children, mothers and pre-school children, the other for livestock feeding. All matters, ranging from the transhipment of food supplies from donor countries, to the pay of local project leaders, were to be dealt with by the Unit, thus minimising problems of duplication and lack of co-ordination.

The Community Development Officer was responsible for the planning and implementation of all projects. It was realised that during the life of the WFP scheme most of his energies would have to be devoted to this work and he was informed, on Cabinet instructions, that consolidation of the on-going and longer-term community development programme would have to take second place for that period. In practice, preparation for the scheme soon became a full-time job. Although general groundwork could be done during February and March 1966, detailed preparation could go ahead only after the WFP scheme was approved by the Food and Agricultural Organisation in Rome in April. This left a mere three months to July 1st, the date on which the projects were scheduled to be launched on a nation-wide scale thus enabling the workers to continue drawing WFP rations, which up to June 30th were being issued free of any conditions. An additional application had also to be made to the United Kingdom Government for Colonial Development and Welfare (CD & W) funds to cover essential items in the scheme not provided either by the WFP or the Bechuanaland Government, such as extra staff, vehicles, tools, equipment and project materials. The late date of approval of both the WFP scheme and the complementary CD & W scheme placed a special difficulty upon one of the most crucial and delicate assignments, that of explaining the scheme to local leaders and officials.

Until approval was obtained from both Rome and London, it was not possible to give precise information about the operation of the scheme to such key people as District Commissioners, Chiefs and local council chairmen, or even Members of Parliament. But since time was so short, whatever local education could be done had to be attempted. Accordingly during February and March 1966 meetings in most districts were addressed by the Community Development Officer, assisted by local Members of Parliament and officers of the District Administration, to explain the scheme in broad outline and to get the necessary machinery at district level into motion to start planning local projects. Much credit in this exercise is due to the District Commissioners who had the unenviable task of following up the first initiative with local community leaders, who were often rather unhappy about the scheme, to obtain co-operation and action at a time when full details were simply not available.

There was criticism of the scheme from two quarters. Many Europeans were open with their comments that most Batswana were too lazy to work on local projects and would not respond. The community development staff, however, had from the start been convinced that the people would respond to the new arrangements, and in fact their advice had been one of the factors considered at the time the scheme was prepared. On the other hand, the news that free distribution of rations was due to cease was greeted with considerable disapprobation by many of those who were beginning to view their receipt of free rations as a right rather than a privilege.

The change of government policy to a system under which rations would be available only for project workers[1] was, in other words, by

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1 There was in fact special provision for disabled and infirm people.

no means a popular one, and sometimes a great deal of explanation and discussion was necessary to convince local representatives of the inevitability and value of the change. Fortunately many local leaders had immediately seen the need for such a policy and proceeded to play a most useful part in gathering support. Whilst assurances were given that the previous relief policy for the aged, the very young, and the disabled would continue, the emphasis in the discussions was laid on the national development aspects of the new scheme. In most cases district famine relief committees[1] responded in a constructive manner to the new proposals, taking steps to clarify dilemmas and to establish the administrative structures necessary for their implementation. Although the Relief and Rehabilitation Unit (RRU) had the ultimate responsibility for deciding questions of eligibility for rations and accounting for food and other supplies, its strategy was to attempt to obtain reasonable decisions in co-operation with district committees, in order to reduce as far as possible the need to impose the heavy hand of government on the local operation of the scheme. Thus for example, it was considered better if a committee could work its way through the problems encountered and agree on such rulings as whether to prohibit rations being issued to able-bodied people who refused to participate in projects, than for Government to impose these rulings on the committees.[2] In this way the necessary publicity and information exercise was given a more useful dimension, with every opportunity being taken to encourage systematic discussion of problems and possibilities

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1 Ad hoc bodies set up the previous year to advise on the administration of the earlier WFP famine relief scheme. It was natural that, at least initially, they should be the bodies to take responsibility for the new scheme.

2 See for example Minutes of a Meeting of the Ngwato Famine Relief Committee, Serowe, 7 March 1966.

at local meetings so that whenever possible the plan of operations could be arrived at through an educational process based on group problem-solving. This method paid immediate dividends, being an effective means of making local representatives face the realities of the situation, thus reducing the impact of those who were attempting to gain political mileage out of the difficult predicament. In the longer term, it provided an opportunity for local leaders to take a more positive line than some of them had before in respect of local development. Questions of detailed implementation and allocation of local resources could not be left to 'the Government'. It was suggested to these committees that the best way of producing a comprehensive list of projects for their districts was to take the villages into confidence at an early stage. There was a very practical reason for suggesting this grass-roots planning. If prestige projects, relating only to district or other imposed priorities were chosen, there would be added difficulties in obtaining people's participation in providing voluntary labour, the only means through which WFP assistance could be continued. In the event there was remarkably little opposition locally to the new scheme, and considerable energy was displayed in working out viable projects.

When the scheme was first explained and discussed publicly it was described as the Food-for-Work Programme, an accurate enough appellation as far as it went and one that emphasised the change from the existing programme of "food-for-nothing". But it drew attention only to what might be considered the 'lowest common denominator' of the scheme, giving no hint of the more constructive aspects. Local meetings were therefore asked to suggest a name underlining the self-help emphasis of the scheme. The Ngwato Famine Relief Committee at Serowe proposed the name Ipelegeng ("carry yourself"). This was concise, carried the

right meaning, and could also be suitably used as a motto or catch-word.[1] It was found acceptable in other districts and, with Cabinet approval, rapidly came into popular usage to describe the food-for-work programme in particular and 'community development' in general. The official Tswana version of "Department of Community Development" thus became "Lephata La Boipelego".[2]

Local organisation to handle the programme varied from area to area: there was no uniform pattern. In some areas there were active district famine relief committees and it was agreed that they should be the responsible body. In others prototype District Council development committees were being formed which were able to deal with Ipelegeng. Village level organisation was patchy. Where VDC's existed they did the job, elsewhere the lot fell to village famine relief committees. In the many villages where neither organisation existed, the matter was handled by ad hoc committees which included the headman and local councillor, though attempts were made to set up special Ipelegeng Committees.

This lack of tidiness in the pattern of local organisation was due to a hiatus in the formation of a new local government structure. Although a White Paper on Local Government had been presented to the Legislative Council as early as November 1964,[3] local elections were not held until March 1966, and District Councils did not come into operation until 1 July 1966, the same day that the nation-wide Ipelegeng programme commenced. There had in fact been a hectic rush to complete constitutional and administrative reforms ever since it had been decided,

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1 Ibid.
2 CD Newsletter, 3, 2, June 1966, p.2.
3 Local Government in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Legislative Council Paper No.21 of 1964.

in 1964, that a General Election for full internal self-government should be held on 1 March 1965. Working back from the latter date, a crammed and overlapping time-table of essential preparation had to be fitted in. Since this was to be the first universal suffrage election, a delimitation of constituencies had to be carried out from scratch. In turn, the delimitation could not be undertaken until a national census had been completed, itself an operation of unprecedented magnitude and nature, since there had been no previous census based on modern principles to serve as a model. The time-table allowed the new national government a mere eleven months from its assumption of office in April 1965 before the second universal suffrage elections, for the new local government system, were to be held. Bearing in mind this tight programme of major surveys and constitutional changes each with their attendant problems, as well as the constraints imposed upon all sections of the administration by the continued drought, the lack of an ordered pattern of smoothly running local organisations to deal with the Ipelegeng programme is hardly surprising. Nevertheless, it was realised that if the opportunity of the scheme was to be capitalised upon, arrangements facilitating long-range district planning and systematic local development would have to be made as soon as possible. Much of the Community Development Officer's time therefore was spent in the task of discussing alternative structural arrangements with District Commissioners and the members of local councils. Since the policy was to accord a fair amount of latitude to local councils within a common basic framework, the detail of the organisational structure responsible for Ipelegeng was worked out by each council.[1]

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1 These arrangements had wider relevance than to the Ipelegeng programme alone, and are discussed further below, pp. 281-189.

Apart from the discussions and preparatory organisation at district level, there was intensive activity to educate the nation about the new scheme. With some 190,000 people currently receiving emergency famine relief rations free of any obligation, it was obviously an unenviable task to introduce the new concept of "food-for-work". Whilst technical and administrative problems were being thrashed out in the districts by community development staff with local leaders and officials, the main brunt of the burden of presenting the new policy to the public at large fell upon the shoulders of the people's elected representatives. All Members of Parliament participated in this activity, and on the orders of the Prime Minister discussions were held from time to time between the ruling Democratic Party caucus and the senior officers responsible for the programme, to ensure that there was complete understanding and agreement regarding the information to be given to the public. The Prime Minister, Seretse Khama, took an active lead in addressing public meetings to explain in unequivocal terms that it was neither possible nor desirable to continue receiving rations from the United Nations and the British Government on the existing basis which laid no obligation upon the Batswana themselves. The demoralising effect that this dependence was having upon the people, although not measurable, was undoubted. There were cases in the Bamangwato area, the Prime Minister stated, where some people had made no attempt to go and plough, saying there was "nothing to bother about as there was Famine Relief": such people were making a grave mistake. In the future, rations would only be available on a self-help basis, and it was made plain that the first duty of farmers was to cultivate their lands: the new programme would take this into account.[1]

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1 CD Newsletter, 3, 1, May 1966, p.11.

A District Example: the Kweneng

Owing to the transitional state of local authorities an additional responsibility for explanation and examination of the scheme fell upon the shoulders of the District Commissioners. In this they could not afford to be authoritarian however,[1] since success depended entirely upon obtaining the understanding and committed support of local councillors, traditional leaders and other community leaders. Perhaps the most striking feature of the three month preparation period was the markedly different responses forthcoming from the various districts, sometimes as expected and sometimes otherwise.

The first district to produce a plan of action, together with a comprehensive list of projects rated according to local priorities, was the North-East, largely as a result of the dynamic leadership of the District Commissioner, Philip Steenkamp, who had been an active supporter of the earlier community development pilot projects. The district had 75 projects planned for the initial phase of the programme, involving an estimated 3,300 workers. Priority was given wherever possible to projects that would facilitate further development such as destumping of lands, communications (road, river drifts) and dams.[2] As anticipated at headquarters, the North-East had reacted with a no-nonsense "let's get on with the action" attitude, and had demonstrated this by efficient planning.

By no means expected however was the animated reaction from the Kweneng District, for some years considered the "sick man" of the

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1 With the introduction of the new system of local government, it had, in any case, been made quite clear to DC's that henceforth they were to see their role as local government advisers. This was, of course, a little utopian in concept, since the urgency of many problems meant that they had to adopt a definite leadership role, even if, as with the more subtle practitioners, this was "leadership from behind".

2 List of Ipelegeng Projects, North-East District [June 1966].

country.[1] A reasoned and comprehensive proposal was produced; the result of most painstaking efforts to involve local inhabitants right down to the village level. The "nation-building" element of the scheme had been appreciated very rapidly and even before the commencement of the projects on a district-wide scale, several preliminary projects were under way in order that problems of implementation might be elucidated as soon as possible. Equal attention was given to the long-term administrative implications. Agreement was reached that a District Health and Community Development Committee would be set up once the District Council came into operation officially in July 1966, and it would in due course assume responsibility for the programme. To allow time for the new Committee to work out its policy and modus operandi in some detail, a period of six months continued life of the existing Famine Relief Committee would be necessary to ensure uninterrupted supervision and control. To give an added incentive to the scheme, R3,000 from district funds was voted for the purchase of building materials;[2] not an immense sum in terms of the number of project involved, but significant in terms of a commitment to the aims of the scheme and an acceptance of responsibility for its successful implementation.

The reason for the progressive approach of the Kweneng is not to be found in an absence of problems common to other districts. Indeed, certain public speakers did their best to distort the aims of the scheme for political reasons[3] and, as already discussed, the district

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1 There had been a history of unsatisfactory tribal leadership, factions and disputes, which had had a debilitating effect on local morale with an associated absence of constructive development.
2 Minutes of the Famine Relief Committee Meeting [Kweneng], Molepolole, 27 June 1966. RR/5.
3 Ibid.

had suffered more than most from a lack of consistent leadership. However, a combination of leadership qualities at this time was responsible for the active response of the Bakwena, proving that the qualities of reasonableness and general good sense common to the Batswana[1] were only awaiting the right leadership in the district to come to the fore. The District Commissioner, B.A.F. Read, was far from being the archetypal colonial administrator of popular imagination. Unassuming and with little ambition for personal status or authority, he was not only able to explain the new policy in ways that were meaningful and largely acceptable to the Bakwena, but he went to considerable lengths to discuss its implications, for example in terms of the lack of practical alternatives, the opportunity for nation-building, and the need for district-wide planning. He was well aware that initially, and indeed throughout its life, the programme would depend upon its crucially important educational and persuasive elements. Commitment and identification on the part of the local people could not be achieved without a fair measure of understanding and Read accepted responsibility for developing this understanding.

As soon as it was feasible, specially recruited Relief and Rehabilitation Officers, Ipelegeng supervisors and other programme staff were posted to districts, but particularly in the early stages of the programme their efficacy was strictly limited. Not only were they unknown to the local people, and hence needed time to establish local confidence, but also they needed time to develop their judgment in the context of Botswana conditions.[2] In this situation the role of the District Com-

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1 See I. Schapera, Married Life in an African Tribe (London: Faber, 1966) for detailed evidence of such characteristics amongst the Bakgatla, especially chapter V, "Making a Living", pp.116-153.

2 The Relief and Rehabilitation Officers and the Ipelegeng Area Supervisors (International Voluntary Service volunteers) had been recruited from Britain.

missioner, especially if he was liked and respected locally as was Read, became invaluable in developing good relationships between the new staff and the tribesmen. In the Kweneng, in fact, a good deal of the preparation at village level was accomplished by Read and his staff before any RRU workers arrived. This involved travelling to villages to discuss the programme, to throw light upon local obstacles and to stimulate further local discussion regarding specific local needs. The projects subsequently chosen were thus the results of genuine "planning-from-below", though the process was not conceptualised in such terms at the time.

The Chief was of little assistance. Local leadership centred around the person of Mr Englishman Kgabo, the Democratic Member of Parliament for Molepolole[1] and himself a former Tribal Secretary to the Bakwena Tribal Administration. His currently strategic position and his local experience combined well with a forceful personality to make him an extremely effective facilitator of the programme. Being an elected representative of the people, he could openly inject the ideological concepts of "nation-building" into his educative and persuasive efforts. In particular, he concerned himself with the operation and improvement of the village level committees which were needed to exercise local control over the planning and execution of the projects. In the Kweneng Famine Relief Committees had been set up in the previous year to look after the distribution of the rations, and in many cases these committees were reorganised or resuscitated to cope with the additional tasks relating to the organisation of Ipelegeng projects.

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1 Later in 1966 he became Minister of Local Government and Lands.

Organisation and Administration

Several pilot projects were begun in the period March-June 1966 in order to gain experience of administrative problems and to iron out "teething troubles". In Mochudi, a double classroom and a Principle's room for the Linchwe Primary school were constructed, and the approach road to the school was repaired.[1] Difficulties were encountered to begin with owing to some local opposition aimed at deterring volunteers from coming forward for the projects. Enthusiastic support from several Headmen who held ward meetings to explain the need for participation in the programme, however, improved matters. In Serowe the youth club started a tree-planting project of their own choosing. This had considerable educational significance both for members and the Serowe villagers. In common with most major settlements, the tree cover in and around the village had been indiscriminately cleared over many years to meet building needs and the incessant demand for fuel. Although it was common enough to hear villagers complain of the difficulty of finding wood - indeed the problem was becoming a very serious one for them - no one, apparently, had grasped the simple ecological fact that depletion could not continue indefinitely without replenishment. Hence the youth club project, which was the first example in the country of a group of local people planting trees of their own accord, was an important innovation. At Serowe also the Swaneng Builders Brigade[2] were involved in clearing bush and erecting fencing for a new cattle marketing co-operative. In the Ngwaketse there was the first large-scale project, the construction of the Gakgatla dam on which some 90 men were engaged. This also marked the first project of any

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1 CD Newsletter, 3, 1, May 1966, p.12.
2 A full-time youth group of building apprentices. See Chapter 7 below, p. 264,

size in which self-help labour was allied with the supervision of a technical department, in this case the Department of Agriculture. In Kanye, the construction of teachers quarters at the Seepapitso Secondary school was a project nearer to the hearts of the local people.[1]

These last two examples, the Gakgatla dam and the Seepapitso teachers quarters, illustrate the different bases on which selection of projects might take place. The dam was desired by the Department of Agriculture as an important element in the water conservation plan for the Ngwaketse district and was of obvious economic value in the eyes of an outsider, though less so to local people. The teachers quarters, though a local 'felt need', were on the other hand not of much long-term economic significance, especially since the relevance of the school, as it was currently operated, to the needs of the district was, to say the least, doubtful.[2] It was realised by the RRU that a balance had to be found between these two types of project. In many cases there would be no practical alternative to locally chosen projects; because local participation would otherwise not be forthcoming, and because too often there were insufficient technical resources available to survey needs or to supervise more sophisticated projects. However, where genuine possibilities existed to accomplish projects of longer-term social and economic value, then educative and persuasive techniques would be employed to obtain local agreement and support. At the beginning of the national scheme, the shortage of field officers made it impossible to plan projects very carefully so great was the pressure for rapid implementation of sufficient projects

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1 CD Newsletter, 3, 1, May 1966, p.12.
2 In the sense that, in common with many other schools, little thought had been given to adapting it to local social and economic needs.

to meet the needs of destitutes.[1] Consequently it was often the case that projects requiring a minimum of planning and which could be executed entirely from local resources were the first to get off the ground, such as village cleaning, road repairs, making of mud bricks, and the construction of buildings made completely from local materials.[2] By September 1966, however the situation had been brought under much better control, with an established planning and executive procedure. Greater emphasis was then placed on projects which would contribute more constructively to social and economic development. First priority was given to dams and other water conservation measures, and second priority to the construction of feeder roads which would facilitate marketing arrangements and communication in general. The extension of school buildings was also emphasised as a positive social development measure, though in fact it was equally a response to public demand. Throughout the programme, however, the underlying principle of "community choice if possible"[3] remained important, so that the voluntary workers engaged on a project would be those who benefitted directly from its completion, and so that there would be personal identification of the worker with the aim of the project. To disrupt family life as little as possible projects were normally to be within daily walking distance of workers' homes, and projects requiring the setting up of special camps were to be avoided.[4]

As the "crisis" period, July and August 1966, passed and the pressure on the administration of the programme began to reduce slightly,

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1 The pressure of the WFP stipulation of "no projects - no rations" should be borne in mind.
2 Memorandum on the Community Development Ipelegeng Programme, 20 June 1966, p.4. RR/5/1.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.

a more ordered phase ensued. Greater care was taken to involve project workers, villagers in general, Headmen, Chiefs, field officers and local councillors in the processes of selection and planning. The normal procedure was as follows:

(a) Projects were selected and local priority given at village level, either by Village Development Committees or Headmen. In almost all cases, the villagers would be consulted at the kgotla. Local donations were sometimes offered or promised. As a variation of this pattern, sometimes projects were not chosen by local people. The planners of the scheme considered that it would be more flexible if anyone was allowed to propose a project, whether an individual, voluntary body or government department.[1] Projects in this latter category included, for example, planting of aloes on earth ramps at the national sports stadium and building of rondavels at Aedume Park, the youth training centre outside Gaborone. In such cases the proposal was then submitted to the committee or Headman representing the workers, and the normal procedure would then follow.

(b) Questions of priority, tools and equipment were then locally assessed by the field officers (Relief and Rehabilitation or Community Development staff) with particular reference to the availability of local materials, feasibility, and relevant specialist advice (eg. the siting and measuring of dams, or the allocation of teachers for self-help schools).

(c) Field officers then discussed the proposed projects with the District Commissioner to ensure that they fitted in with district plans.

(d) The appropriate committee of the District Council then gave its approval or otherwise, stating what assistance it could offer.

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1 Ibid., p.7.

(e) Finally, approval was necessary by RRU headquarters in Gaborone in order to ensure that projects did not conflict with national plans and priorities, and also to assess assistance required in terms of tools, materials and finance.[1]

Although this procedure might appear somewhat cumbersome, a formalised structure was necessary in order to keep a measure of both horizontal and vertical co-ordination and to avoid waste of resources. Furthermore, the step-by-step method forced those concerned at each level to examine ways and means of implementing the project before seeking assistance from a higher level. It had therefore an educative as well as an administrative function. Another reason for this rather strict procedure was that community development in other countries had been subject to criticism for sponsoring haphazard local self-help schemes,[2] and Government was conscious of the need to avoid this mistake. Integration of local activities with district and national plans was continually emphasised, but despite this some communities spontaneously started projects of their own without consulting any authorities. Whilst the spirit displayed was commendable, this often posed serious problems not only for the regulation of food supplies for workers but also for the support and maintenance of the project itself.[3]

In a reasonably well developed system of local government, the stipulation that projects were to be approved at national level would represent a notable intrusion upon local autonomy and responsibility,

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1 J.C. Ramchandani and R.M. Manning, Appraisal Report on WFP Project 323: Community Development and Tsetse Fly Control, July 1967, pp.14-15.
2 UN, Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes (New York, 1959), p.25. See also J.E. Anderson, "Education for Self-Reliance: The Impact of Self-Help", Institute of Nairobi, September 1968 (mimeographed).
3 Quett Masire, Vice-President of Botswana, addressing the Intergovernmental Committee of the World Food Program, Rom. Daily News, 17 November 1966.

and it can obviously be argued that the cause of decentralisation would have been better served had this final approval been kept at district level. Against this is the argument that for decentralisation to be effective in the context of national development, it is necessary for the central government to have formulated a comprehensive national strategy and legislative and administrative framework.[1] In 1966 the Democratic Party Government in Botswana was still deeply engaged in evolving this strategy: it had, after all, been in office for little over a year. In addition, local councils had only just been born and were still experiencing many teething troubles, with councillors and committee members often untrained and inexperienced in their roles. Tribal Administrations, and their successors the District Councils, were naturally less efficient in terms of modern administration than central government and, conscious of this, Government was reluctant to push extra responsibilities on to them too fast. The pressures of accountability to an international organisation (FAO) lent further weight to the desire to keep a fairly strict eye on the progress of the programme.

Progress of the Scheme

It was not possible to commence projects on a full scale on the operative date, 1 July 1966, because of the administrative difficulties already described.[2] But by the third week in July there had been a rapid build-up, the result of intense work on the part of all concerned,

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1 See UN, Decentralisation for National and Local Development (New York, 1962), pp.5-6.

2 See above, pp 212-217. The precise and final details of operation were not settled until the middle of June. Circular Savingrams RR/5/1 dated 20 and 24 June 1966 from Relief and Rehabilitation Unit to DC's, Local Councils, CD staff, R & R Staff.

and 15,790 workers were involved on projects. With 4,750 workers the Kweneng was easily the most numerous, reflecting the district's sound preparatory measures.[1] The numbers of volunteers varied from day to day and from week to week, and weekly figures are not available. However, average figures for the first 9 months of the programme were:

Period	Workers	Working Days	Mandays
July-Sept 1966	29,570	52	1,537,616
Oct - Dec 1966	33,754	50	1,687,699
Jan - Mar 1967	25,042	52	1,302,165
		154	4,527,489[2]

Even allowing for considerable unevenness in the amount of effort put into the work by the volunteers, these 4½ million mandays over the first nine months represent a very sizeable physical output. There was no possibility of the government finding funds to pay wages to even a minimal proportion of the volunteers. Thus, for example, it was calculated that at the current daily minimum wage of 54 cents, the 29,000 volunteers engaged at the end of August 1966 would have cost R15,660 per day or R62,640 for a 4-day Ipelegeng week.[3] For the 9 month period the value of labour alone was R2,444,844 (£1,222,422). An indication of the relative magnitude of this figure is obtained by comparing it with the total government expenditure for 1966-67, which was R17,842,000.[4] Overall records of the materials used were not kept, nor were assessments made of the total value of completed projects, but it is evident that

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1 Cabinet Information Note 127 of 19 July 1966, Office of the Prime Minister.
2 Ramchandani and Manning, op.cit., p.24.
3 Talk on Radio Bechuanaland by Community Development Officer, 2 September 1966.
4 Statistical Abstract 1968, Table 58, p.69.

the physical achievement compares very favourably with the £2 million assessment of self-help schemes in Kenya during 1967,[1] a country whose population is sixteen times larger than that of Botswana.

Achievements

During the first quarter ending 30 September 1966, some 513 schemes were started, of which 67 were completed. Notwithstanding the problems encountered, the scope of what could be achieved through self-help was being widely demonstrated. Senior government officials who had formerly been sceptical began to look at the programme with renewed interest. It was evident that the earlier efforts of the community development staff, who had been engaged in stimulating and assisting self-help activities long before the introduction of food-for-work, were now being reinforced on a broad front. Local councils began to provide money in their estimates for the purchase of materials for self-help schemes, and many villages and groups organised collections to buy materials and equipment for their own projects.[2]

By the end of the second quarter, when the organisation of the programme was more stabilised, the potential as well as the problems of the scheme had become clearer. The most encouraging feature to emerge was the diminution of the attitude on the part of workers that they were merely working in return for a payment in kind. Spotchecks showed that many more people were realising that the projects were in the interests of their immediate communities. This was partly associated with the greater degree of responsibility now being shouldered

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1 Government of Kenya, Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, "The Output of Self-Help Schemes 1967", Nairobi, August 1968 (mimeographed).
2 Quarterly Progress Report, quarter ending 30 September 1966, World Food Programme Projects 323, 324, 340. p.2.

by the community development committees of district and town councils. Their efforts to find funds to obtain permanent construction materials and manufactured equipment were now aided by contributions from voluntary organisations such as the Botswana Christian Council, the Rotarians, and the Catholic Relief Services.

A summary of the state of projects after six months is given in Table 1 below.

Table 1

Summary of the State of Ipelegeng Projects, 31 December 1966

Type of Project	Number of Projects Started	Completed	Uncompleted
Soil and water conservation (dams, weirs etc)	101	28	73
School Buildings, Teachers' Quarters	263	53	210
Clinics, Food Stores, House improvements	57	20	37
Agricultural (destumping lands, fencing etc)	19	8	11
Other buildings (includes local council buildings, & latrines)	35	13	22
Roads, Drifts and Bridges	152	38	114
Youth Projects	6	1	5
Brickmaking, Grass-cutting, Sports Fields	13	-	13
	697	174	523

Source: Quarterly Progress Report, quarter ending 31 December 1966, WFP Projects 323, 324, 340, p.3.

The high proportion of uncompleted to completed projects immediately attracts attention. The RRU was well aware of this situation,[1] which was in large measure due to the fact that considerable numbers of

1 Quarterly Progress Report, quarter ending 31 December 1966, p.3.

Ipelegeng workers had left the projects in order to go to the lands to plough. There was no easy solution here. The rehabilitative basis of the scheme had necessitated projects being organised first and foremost to provide immediate food supplies to those who were in direst need of them. Naturally projects chosen according to this criterion did not coincide in every case with communities which had a well-formed understanding of their projects and a determination to finish them, although as local committees developed more and more sense of responsibility with the assistance of trained community development workers, this discrepancy was reduced. The RRU was anxious not to put any obstacles in the way of people going to the lands and in fact was taking steps to actively encourage ploughing. As a matter of policy, discussions were held with all Ipelegeng groups to point out the importance of ploughing if it was possible, to elicit reasons why people felt it might be impossible,[1] to make special arrangements for volunteers to build up a credit of food supplies which could be drawn in bulk when they went to the lands, and to arrange Ipelegeng projects at the lands wherever possible.[2] Following the consequent reduction in numbers of Ipelegeng workers as many went off to their lands, the policy was to concentrate on completing existing schemes, in so far as the availability of volunteer workers and the wishes of those workers permitted. Three months later, 320 projects had been finished, and the proportion of completed projects was rising.[3]

By September 1967, when the nation-wide Ipelegeng programme ended,[4] the policy of completing projects had had a noticeable effect, and the

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1 Common reasons were lack of draught animals, seed, ploughs or able-bodied males in the family.
2 RRU circular to all DC's, RR/6/1 of 7 October 1966.
3 See Appendix VI, p. 401 for a summary of the situation at 31 March 1967.
4 The WFP food-for-work arrangement did in fact continue for several years on a much reduced and localised basis as a measure to assist drought-stricken areas. See Daily News, 29 May 1971.

list of the more significant projects completed is shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Summary of Completed Ipelegeng Projects, 30 September 1967

Classrooms	163
Teachers Quarters	195
Medical clinics	19
Soil conservation and dam construction (mainly new dams)	88
Land de-stumping	324 acres
Buildings (rondavels, offices, storerooms)	147
Afforestation	24 acres
Roads (new and repaired)	662 miles

Source: CD Newsletter, September 1967, p.7.

Unfortunately the figures in Table 2 cannot be correlated precisely with those of Table 1, since the latter refer to units completed, whereas the former refers to projects. For example, one project might have been responsible for 5 miles of road, 2 acres of afforestation, or 2 classrooms. Nevertheless, the achievements as represented in Table 2 represented no mean contribution to Botswana's development effort.

The tables also reflect the efficacy of the policy to emphasise items which were seen to be contributing to social and economic development: water conservation, communications, and school buildings. Some of these were not as technically sound or as permanent as they might have been, owing to lack of suitable materials or technical supervision, though various measures were used to upgrade the stan-

dard.[1] Accepting this unevenness in implementation, however, the selection of the priorities chosen was logical. With the consideration of water the prime need of the country, the wisdom of giving priority to dams is obvious. Likewise an improved road network was an essential feature of rural infrastructure for economic development. The emphasis given to school buildings was somewhat less soundly based, as has been mentioned already.[2] In the latter case, however, no simple alternatives were available. Even had the Ipelegeng planners been conscious of the need to revamp rural education, such a task was entirely beyond the scope of their programme.[3] Furthermore, the tremendous public enthusiasm for more school buildings was a political fact of great importance: a move to prevent school construction projects could well have jeopardised the whole programme.

Apart from soil and water conservation measures, agricultural projects were disappointingly few. The RRU became aware of this within the first few weeks of the programme, and after consultation with the Department of Agriculture, issued a set of proposals for suitable agricultural projects,[4] but this did not lead to an active response. This was partly because of the inherently greater organisational problems

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1 For example, at the beginning of the programme all CD staff had undergone training in making small dams, hafirs and gabions, and in other local water conservation methods. CD Newsletter, 3, 1, May 1966, p.13. A detailed instruction 'Outline of Action for Constructing a Simple Dam' was issued to all supervisors of projects in August 1966. As funds permitted, steel frames, and sometimes zinc roofs, were issued for school buildings, with local labour to complete floors, walls, doors and windows. Brickmaking was gradually improved from the production of sun-dried mudbricks to kiln-baked clay bricks.

2 See above, p.224.

3 The most that could be done in the circumstances was to reduce conflict with official educational policy by obtaining priority ratings of building needs from the Education Department. This usually meant the extension and improvement of existing schools rather than the establishment of new ones.

4 RRU to DC's, RR/5/1 of 19 July 1966.

involved in planning highly decentralised operations where adequate leadership was difficult to find. Distribution of food supplies to the main villages already stretched logistical resources to their limit: to spread the network even further was in most cases not feasible.[1] A further reason was that the agricultural extension policy had until this time concentrated almost entirely on the individual farmer, and the Department of Agriculture was only just beginning to feel its way towards a group and community approach. It was not, therefore, in a strong position to capitalise on the opportunity provided by Ipelegeng with its orientation towards group and village projects.

Assessment

The immediate benefit of Ipelegeng in its first year to over 30,000 families cannot be doubted. They needed food supplies desperately and this was the only way of obtaining them. With a minimum of disruption of family life a major contribution to the rural infrastructure was made in the form of improved schools, roads and water supplies. As these improvements could not have been effected without the practical involvement of large numbers of the villagers themselves. In many cases, of course, the level of personal involvement reached no higher than a need for extra rations, a need which could be satisfied by participation on a local project. Nevertheless, even this most basic level of public participation represented a useful advance on the previous situation in which the necessary issue of emergency rations was not linked to any kind of attempt to create a heightened public sensitivity to the personal, community and national implications of the crisis. As the aims and objectives of the Ipelegeng programme in res-

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1 It will be remembered that the matshimo (agricultural lands) were seldom adjacent to the villages. See above, p.33.

pect of nation-building were more fully discussed and explained, the level of involvement deepened, and an opportunity was afforded for many people to gain some understanding of the concept of participation in national development. Such assessments of changes in understanding and attitude are, of course, extremely difficult to support with 'hard' evidence, and they depend to a large extent on personal impression. However, the fact that a calculated 25% of the value of all materials used on projects during the 15 month Ipelegeng programme was contributed by the communities themselves[1] must be considered as supporting evidence for the judgment given here.

It was contended in some quarters that the introduction of the programme had an adverse effect on the development of popular local initiative, particularly in terms of voluntary self-help, the evidence for this criticism being apparently that a fair number of projects ceased, some of them abruptly, when food rations were withdrawn. This failure, however, was only to be expected in the circumstances and should not be over-estimated. Lacking as we do any detailed or controlled research findings, it is well-nigh impossible to come to any definite conclusion on the issue raised. What does weaken the criticism is its conceptual basis. It was related to pre-conceived notions of democratic participation rather than to a consideration of practical alternatives. Another weakness of the criticism is that it ignores the pronounced emergency aspect of the programme,[2] demanding action on the part of villagers in a fraction of the time they would normally have

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1 CD Newsletter, September 1967, p.7.

2 The plight of people continued to be desperate in 1967, and it was believed that villagers in the southern Kgalagadi such as Bogogobo, Khuis and Middlepits, were literally going to starve following the end of food-for-work. Report of Infant Feeding and Child Care Course: Tsabong and Bokspits, 20 October 1967, p.8. CDWU/T/10.

taken to decide upon action of their own accord. It also overlooks the fact that the operational efficiency of widespread self-help programmes is seldom very high, involving as they do a considerable fall-out rate, both in terms of individuals' commitment and the completion of projects. Self-help programmes, by definition almost, keep technical and financial resources to a minimum. Furthermore it should be noted that many projects continued uninterrupted after the cessation of rations, a testimony not only to qualities of perseverance on the part of those involved, but also to the educational principle that participation in practical activity is one of the most effective methods of learning. We can also note that in many cases follow up work by community development personnel led to lapsed projects being completed without any food incentive.[1] When these factors are considered, it is seen that the food element although a sine qua non was by no means the only determinant of the effects of the programme.

Assessment of any programme, to be realistic, must take into account what might have been reasonable alternative measures, given the various situational constraints. In addition, comparison of the situation during or after the programme with the pre-programme situation is needed. Major criticisms of the Ipelegeng programme conspicuously did neither, but were based on abstract or ideal models, usually developed in other countries.[2] In so far as Ipelegeng drew many villages into improvement activities, including involvement in decision-making however nominal, it represented a clear advance from the pre-programme situation in which the development of local infrastructure was thought

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1 Tsa Ipelegeng, July 1968, p.20, and Report of the CD Department Women's Unit visit to Kgalagadi, 12-17 November 1967.

2 Those who were against the food-for-work scheme on principle were in almost all cases expatriates. This example illustrates the difficulties involved where expatriates hold fundamentally different value systems to those of national policy-makers.

by most villagers to be a matter for government authorities alone.

Owing to its wide scale, and more particularly the fact that many sections of the official and non-official hierarchy were involved in it, the programme gave an effective demonstration of the potential for local development based on villagers' participation. For this reason alone, it had great significance for the growth of community development as a feature of government policy. The possibility of achieving grass roots change, and the need for an organisational structure and a communications network to facilitate such change, through Village Development Committees for example, had been brought to public attention. Ministers, Members of Parliament, senior departmental officials and community leaders had been introduced to a new dimension of public administration, and had had their awareness of the role and importance of ordinary villagers greatly heightened. It would be going too far to say that the Ipelegeng programme was responsible for bringing a deep understanding of the meaning of community development to this influential and important sector of society, but it did make them aware of the potential power of self-help efforts, and in so far as community development organisation was associated with these efforts, there was a much livelier interest in the role that community development might play in the nation-building process. Projects requiring the co-operation of as wide a range of government departments as Agriculture, Education, Medical Services, Public Works and Water Affairs had provided opportunities for the co-ordination of sectoral interests. Community development could no longer be considered merely a fringe activity entirely the concern of one department; it became increasingly associated with the modernisation strategy of the entire nation and was seen to have direct relevance to the activities of the other development agencies.

Problems encountered during the administration of the programme had the effect of encouraging more critical thinking in the Department of Community Development which in turn was valuable in shaping the growth of community development policy as a whole. The controversy over the strategy of linking famine relief to local development projects had shown, not so much that the provision of such rations per se was detrimental to the longer term objectives of developing initiative and self-reliance, but that their presence could easily obscure the need for a strong educational element in local development. Secondly, the fact that practically all the projects were concerned only with physical improvements and additions to the environment, led to a greater realisation that a balanced community development programme would require the allocation of much time and effort to the task of encouraging on-going developments, through a network of local groups and organisations. One of the most significant aspects of community development work in the late 1960's which exemplifies this realisation was the growth of youth activities specifically designed to meet personal economic needs.[1]

A third problem highlighted by the programme was that of the relationships between traditional authorities, elected representatives, and government staff. This area of difficulty, which was a central concern for the Government, was not of course confined to the operation of community development activities. On the contrary, it was, and no doubt will continue for some time to be, a major area of misunderstanding, conflict and confusion affecting all aspects of public life. It is evident however that the interrelationships do slowly improve as each

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1 See below, Chapter 7 , p. 262 ff.

individual grasps more clearly the nature of his role in a changing society, and realises that a working relationship between the different categories of leadership is not only desirable but essential. There is no slick answer to the question of role-definition in this context, and the realisation mentioned is not achieved overnight. It is certainly not taught through the medium of exhortation nor the issue of instructions. By deliberately involving all three groups in publicity, planning and execution on a wide front and down to the most local level, the Ipelegeng programme forced many of the uncertainties, prejudices and genuine role conflicts to the fore rather than sweeping them under the carpet. By so doing it gave many opportunities to find ways and means of tackling the problem. Experience as early as 1966 showed that the faith in democratic local government which had led to the setting up of District Councils had not been matched by an equivalent ability on the part of those District Councils to fulfil their functions unaided. This led to the conclusion that for some time to come use would have to be made of traditional authorities in all areas in order to ensure that the programme was carried out as smoothly as possible.[1] Notwithstanding this realistic appraisal, the policy remained quite firmly one of encouraging District and Village Development Committees to take a greater share of responsibility for the programme.[2] The one detailed examination available of the process of village-level decision-making in relation to the Ipelegeng programme was made by Kuper in the village of Kuli in the Kalahari. It lends support to the contentions above that government-provided food was by no means a paramount determinant, and that the opportunity pro-

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1 Relief and Rehabilitation Unit, Notes on Meeting held in Francistown, 16-17 August 1966, p.8.
2 Ibid.

vided by the programme did give considerable impetus to the evolution of local executive leadership, and helped to clarify the role of the local District Councillor in relation to the Headman.[1]

The Ipelegeng programme did not, somewhat naturally, please everyone. At the start, it was criticised by those who did not believe that the Batswana villagers would respond to the opportunity and challenge of participation in local development projects, as well as by those who saw development administration in terms of centrally planned schemes closely directed by professional and administrative officers. Bytthe end of its first year of operation, which in fact represented the most important period in its life in terms of the scale of operations, disquiet was being expressed, with considerable justification, that the concentration on capital projects was leading to an imbalance in local development. This concern emphasised the need for human rather than physical development, and it is not surprising that much of it emanated from those who were most intimately concerned with community development in its wider connotations.

Summary

The Ipelegeng programme of 1966-1967 marked a watershed in the evolution of community development policy and organisation. Most importantly, it was heavily instrumental in winning for community development the whole-hearted and high-level support which it needed if it was to make a major contribution as one of the central features of a national development strategy. Hitherto only lip service had been paid to the

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1 Adam Kuper, Kalahari Village Politics (Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp.128-131.

concept of co-ordination and co-operation between the various sectors of government, the local authorities and voluntary bodies. The senior Community Development staff had for some time before Ipelegeng been well aware of this and had made efforts to improve matters.[1] However, since the Department was only an uninfluential section of the Ministry of Local Government it had not been able to carry its message with much effect in the higher levels of government, whilst its ground successes, which did in fact demonstrate the value of a co-ordinated and participatory method of working, had been on too small a front to make much impact on national leaders. Ipelegeng on the other hand, because it was designed to meet a national crisis, operated on a very broad front and was the centre of national attention. Situated in the Office of the Prime Minister, and given authority to approach any Ministry for assistance, the RRU was able to exploit its position on a fairly wide scale. As the food-for-work programme began to run down in 1967, there was a concern in government that the experience as well as the momentum gained in its operation should not be lost. Both its successes and failures exerted an influence on the future pattern of government administration. Its successes had demonstrated the benefits of a co-ordinated and inter-sectoral method of working, a method which to have permanent effect requires top-level support. This demonstration was one of the contributory factors leading to the increased attention given to integrated methods of planning and administration over the Government's whole development function. More particularly the recognition at Ministerial and Head of Department level of the effectiveness of public participation which resulted from Ipelegeng was the most important

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1 See below, Chapter 7, p.283-296.

single factor in attracting a larger share of scarce resources to community development as an arm of Government.[1] The function of Ipelegeng, in short, was to act as an accelerator in the growth of community development activity: had the programme been unnecessary and hence never existed, the expansion of the Community Development Department in 1968 and 1969 would have been far less rapid. Its failure, inevitable in the circumstances, to branch out from a rather straightforward concentration on physical projects had indicated the need for a much greater variety in local development planning, and hence the flexibility, resources and expertise needed to treat specific development problems in some depth.

The logical culmination of these several trends can be seen during the period 1968 to 1970, when community development achieved a position of some centrality in the national development plans, when the Department of Community Development expanded tremendously both in numbers of staff and in geographical coverage, and when more care was devoted to the establishment and operation of permanent institutions, such as Village Development Committees and youth groups, and to the training of the leaders of such institutions. The structure and organisation of community development as it evolved in the second half of the 1960's is the concern of the next chapter.

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1 See below, p. 291, footnote 1.

CHAPTER 7

THE ORGANISATION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT 1965-1970

In Chapter 5 the emergence of a community development rationale from a social welfare base was traced, and a detailed example given of the type of grass-roots development which, by the end of 1965, the Department of Community Development believed should form its central focus. Chapter 6 described and discussed the emergency programme which constituted the main concern of community development during the period 1966-1967, and which had such an important influence on community development organisation, most notably in demonstrating the need for nation-wide coverage.

The present chapter deals with the structure and content of community development as they evolved during the years 1965-1970.

Ministerial Organisation

When the first general elections in Bechuanaland were held in 1965 Seretse Khama's Democratic Party swept the polls, and on April 1st took over responsibility for the administration of the internal affairs of the country.[1] A ministerial structure was established for the first time under the new constitution, and the new Ministry of Local Government included in its portfolio the former Department of Social Welfare which was simultaneously renamed the Department of Community Development.[2] Hitherto the Department had operated under the aegis of the Division of

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1 Her Majesty's Commissioner retained control of external affairs, defence, internal security and control of the civil service. BP Annual Report 1965, p.7.

2 Referred to hereunder as "The Department".

Tribal Affairs and Social Services which embraced a wide spectrum of responsibilities including Local Councils, Tribal Administration, Education, Labour and Medical Services. Under the new system these responsibilities were divided between the Ministry of Local Government and the Ministry of Labour and Social Services. Community development had to be allocated to one of these two Ministries,[1] but it was not clear which one had the better claim. There was a fairly strong a priori case for the decision to be in favour of the Ministry of Labour and Social Services, which included education and medical services. As long as community development was seen as being more or less synonymous with "social welfare" this case would appear to have been unassailable. Since its initiation in 1947 the welfare programme had remained clearly under the Director of Education until it had begun to establish a somewhat separate identity and independent organisation in the early 1960's. Youth work, one of its prime concerns, obviously could not be considered in isolation from the educational system, and in fact the connections were particularly close since the leading youth movements, the Scouts and Guides, were organised through troops and companies attached to schools with the overwhelming majority of leaders being schoolteachers. The clubs being developed and assisted by the Department were largely limited to social, educational and recreational activities and objectives, as were the contacts with voluntary organisations. The occupational therapy and individual welfare work, in so far as that was continued, had links with the medical services. Apart from these associations the established welfare programme was compara-

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1 As community development evolved over the next few years, the possibility of it being located elsewhere in the government machinery arose. See Chapter 8 below, pp. 339-341.

tively self-contained and had no particular affinity with any wider strategy.

But the above reasoning only represented one viewpoint and one that was based essentially on continuation of the status quo. The new title of "Community Development" accorded to the Department represented more than a terminological change: it was indicative of a shift of emphasis that was becoming every month more pronounced. The conviction of the Community Development Officer that his organisation should not be confined to the field of social services was being reinforced by the evidence of the grass-roots development work being done in the pilot villages,[1] as well as the increasingly varied requests for assistance coming in from rural areas. Concurrently the Government's development planners were turning their attention to self-help activities in general and the modernisation of local administrations,[2] and thus the pleas from the Department and from local politicians for a community development programme were beginning to receive a slightly more sympathetic and interested hearing by the most senior government officials. The holistic approach of community development logically implied that problems, needs and potential were assessed in relation to a particular geographical area, whether a village, sub-district, district or town, rather than in relation to specialised fields of activity such as education, health or agriculture. The net result of these trends was that connections were being established between community development on the one hand, with its concern for grass-roots development based on public participation and its emphasis on method

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1 See Chapter 5 above, pp.195-199.
2 BP Development Plan 1963-1968, p.22.

rather than content in development administration, and the growth of local responsibility on the other. The development of this responsibility through reform of local administrations was, of course, a central aim of the new Ministry of Local Government.

The types of organisational structure and field activities required by a social welfare programme or alternatively a community development programme are clearly different even though their ultimate objectives may be similar. Had resources permitted it is arguable that there should have been two departments, with social welfare located under the Ministry of Labour and Social Services and community development under Local Government. In the circumstances such an arrangement would have been a premature sophistication. In the event compromise prevailed, with the Department being included in the Ministry of Local Government to reflect its emerging community development role, but it still retained at least nominal responsibility for its traditional social welfare function. It was stipulated, however, that in the field of voluntary youth movements, bearing in mind their links with education, the Community Development Officer should work in close association with the Ministry of Labour and Social Services. The question of ministerial responsibility for "youth" in general, it should be noted, had not yet arisen.

After three months of operation of the new ministerial and departmental system, the first conference of the Department of Community Development was held, its specific objective being to improve team-work and to develop a sense of direction amongst the staff by allowing each member to explain his work and problems, as well as by discussing national-level policy and its implications for local community development work particularly in relation to the concept of 'felt needs'. Both the Minister of Local Government, who opened the conference, and

his Permanent Secretary, who had initially not been convinced that community development had much in common with local government, participated. Having pointed out the links between local government and community development, especially in their mutual need to consider areas of the country holistically, the Minister gave some guidelines for the Department's work:

> Wherever possible Community Development should work so that the members of local communities not only actively take part in programmes planned from above, but also have a part in preparing these plans. Therefore any policy must be flexible enough to accommodate differences between areas. The safest guide to a sound policy will be practical experience and therefore it would be both unwise and presumptuous to lay down a rigid and detailed policy and programme at this stage.[1]

The intention of the Ministry was that during the ensuing year the Department should work towards the establishment of specific priorities in its policy, based on the experience gathered. In the meantime the aim was straightforward:

> namely to induce and enable small communities to bring about improvements in their own society by means of their own efforts, assisted by the Government where necessary. The long-term aspect of this involves the creation of lasting institutions which can continue to operate whether a Government Community Development agent is present or not.[2]

In pursuance of this aim, the Department planned to use several methods. It was felt that the building up of a network of field staff was essential, so that on-the-spot guidance and assistance could be given. Other methods included: the supply of advice and information from headquarters in response to requests from local groups; civic adult education through any suitable media, especially the radio and a newsletter; the selection of suitable local leaders to make use of

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1 Speech by the Hon. Tsheko Tsheko, M.B.E., Minister of Local Government, on opening the first Community Development Department Staff Conference, Gaborone, 1-2 July 1965.
2 Ibid.

any scholarships offered from outside the country; the establishment of training facilities within the country to foster community leadership; the continual discussion with other government and non-government agencies to reach joint solutions to local problems.[1]

It was envisaged that initially the work of rural field staff would be largely confined to village-level activities, but that as more middle-level staff at the Assistant Community Development Officer grade became available and when the new District Council structure was introduced in 1966, there would be an intensification of the Department's role at district level. This would include assistance in the formulation of district development plans and co-ordination of the activities of government departments and other agencies. The key local unit would be the Village Development Committee, the prototypes for which were already in operation in the Kgatleng and Tati Districts.[2]

Although the long-term objectives of community development were conceived in such terms as "nation-building" and the development of "self-reliance",[3] it was appreciated that the attempt to achieve these objectives required a programme and the programme required a content. Although local self-help projects were important, by themselves they did not constitute a social development strategy. The particular aspects of such a strategy which concerned the Department were: adult literacy; home economics and the development of women's organisations; youth work; recreation, including sporting, social and cultural activities; and in the narrow sense, social welfare.[4] These were the fields in which the Department operated, as it were, as a specialist extension

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1 Address by CDO, CD Department Staff Conference, Gaborone, 1-2 July 1965.
2 Ibid.
3 Note for Discussion on Community Development Policy, January 1966.
4 Ibid.

agency, and it is helpful to look at each of them in turn to obtain a clearer understanding of the practical dimensions of community development policy.

Adult Literacy

In terms of the scarce resources available, adult literacy work was fairly active during 1965 and 1966. Literacy groups were operating in all urban centres and several rural areas. The Department arranged for two women to undertake an intensive course in literacy methods in Israel. On their return one continued to work in her home area, Ngamiland, as a voluntary leader, while the other joined the Department and organised courses for local literacy instructors. One interesting project assisted in this way was in Serowe, where fifteen members of the YWCA had volunteered to be teachers in a scheme to make 100 local people literate by Independence Day.[1] In addition to the benefits which the attainment of basic literacy brought to the individual person, the value of adult literacy work in local community development was becoming evident. It provided a convenient method of forming local groups, which apart from learning to read and write often became forums for discussion on local matters. In turn community action could result from such discussion.

However, although it was felt that literacy had a useful role to play in development, any attempt at a mass literacy campaign was deliberately eschewed because:

> In the first place, this Department /Community Development/ has neither the staff nor the resources to adequately operate such a programme. In addition, mass

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1 CD Newsletter, 3, 2, June 1966, pp.8-9.

> campaigns ignore the element of local community decision to run a class. And finally, even the international agencies such as UNESCO now publicly say that mass programmes are often over-wasteful of resources.... This, therefore, puts the problem back on the shoulders of all literate individuals in the country, and more particularly on voluntary agencies (including VDC's), which by group work have the means and organisation to contribute to national development in this basic and vital way.[1]

The pattern thus was of literacy operating on a local basis with some assistance from the Department in the form of subsidised primers, the training of instructors, and advice on group organisation.

Nevertheless adult literacy was the least satisfying feature of the community development programme. Economic analysis of the country's problems pointed towards active literacy work: "Without a radical raising of standards of literacy from the bottom... it is unlikely that the reforms which will be necessary to complete the transfer from a subsistence to a monetary economy will take place".[2] The Department of Community Development was also keen to develop a properly supported national programme,[3] and in fact submitted a detailed scheme in 1965 which was included in the Draft Public Expenditure Programme 1965-1968.[4] However, the scheme was discarded a year later when the "Independence" development plan was published,[5] since which time there has been no satisfactory policy on adult literacy. During 1967 and 1968 field activity continued in the same manner as it had in the previous two years, with no new developments to report. In the 1968-1973 national plan the raising of literacy levels was accorded mention neither in the

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1 Radio Bechuanaland talk by CDO, reported in CD Newsletter, 3, 1, May 1966, p.9.
2 Draft Public Expenditure Programme 1965-1968, para.24.
3 Note on Development Proposals by CDO for CD Adviser, 13 October 1965, paras.8-19. CD 22/1.
4 Ibid.
5 Transitional Plan for Social and Economic Development, Gaborone 1966.

general strategy nor in educational policy, though a brief reference was made to an intention to do more in the training of voluntary literacy teachers.[1]

The main weakness was that although the value of increased adult literacy had been acknowledged in general terms, the implications of the acknowledgment, namely that resources would have to be diverted to this end, was avoided. Part of the problem was that the development of an adequate educational rationale proved elusive. Between 1962 and 1965 two successive Directors of Education had been approached by the Community Development Officer in an attempt to establish a policy for literacy work or, failing that, to obtain some professional assistance. In both cases the response was entirely negative on the grounds that the Education Department was already overloaded. There is no reason to doubt the good faith of the Directors, but three comments may fairly be made. In the first place, it was widely accepted internationally and had already been demonstrated in Bechuanaland that adult education should not be considered merely as a rival for scarce educational resources.[2] Secondly, the ineffectiveness of development planning at that stage is illustrated: reduction of literacy figured in Government's policy objectives, but the method of achieving this was not planned. Thirdly, the Education Department was showing considerable inconsistency, for despite the Director's refusal to become involved, the Deputy Director, Miss Chiepe, had attended a conference concerning illiteracy in West Africa in 1964 and also attended the famous UNESCO Congress in Tehran in 1965. At that Congress the new concept of "functional literacy" was launched, but it had little effect on Bechuanaland.

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1 National Development Plan 1968-1973, Gaberone 1968, p.64.
2 See above, pp.60-61.

Miss Chiepe made a purely formal report recording her attendance, and did not follow this up with any recommendation regarding local policy.[1] The promotion of adult literacy was thus left entirely to the Community Development Department, and one result of this lack of interest on the part of the Education Department was that there was no tie-up between literacy work and any wider strategy or programme of on-going adult education. In fact no such adult education scheme was envisaged for a number of years to come, the first systematic efforts in this direction being delayed until 1970 when the School of Adult Learning of the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland began to survey existing adult education activities as a preliminary to devising a policy.[2]

It is, of course, only fair to point out, in mitigation of the rather feeble approach to literacy work on the part of the Government in general and more particularly the Departments of Education and Community Development, that the difficulty of hitting upon an effective strategy was by no means unique to Botswana. It would appear that despite the continued and varied initiatives in this field by UNESCO, and ample lip-service paid to literacy as one of man's "fundamental rights", the results of literacy programmes in the developing countries of Africa have more often than not been inconclusive.

Women's Organisations and Home Economics

Fortunately not all aspects of the community development programme proved as inconclusive as literacy. The area of activity in which the Department's efforts met with the most encouraging response and in which

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1 Report on World Congress of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy, by G.K.T. Chiepe, October 1965.
2 Daily News, 16 July 1970.

its programme developed most soundly was women's work. As early as 1964 the importance of this work had been recognised when a Botswana University graduate had been awarded, under the auspices of the Department, a scholarship to study home economics in Israel. On her return she joined the Department, being given special responsibility for women's work in general. In the following year the two functionally related though distinct aspects of this work, the development of women's organisations and training in home economics, began to emerge.

In the first few months of 1965 the CDA's in the pilot project villages had found that in every village it had taken very little effort on their part, and often no more than an indication of approval, to start a women's club. At headquarters the Department found that it was receiving more and more inquiries from various parts of the country asking what assistance it could give to women's groups. Often these inquiries came from individuals who felt they would like to form a women's club but lacked the knowledge and confidence to take action. It was timely, therefore, that at the departmental conference in July 1965 a paper was presented which gave recognition to this growing interest and clarified the conceptual basis for women's work to play an important role in national development.[1] It reasoned that the Department should not only respond to requests, but should take the initiative in the development of women's clubs, particularly in the field of leadership training. An informal survey had revealed details of over 30 clubs, most of which had no connections with any other club or organisation. The exceptions were clubs affiliated to the Women's Institute or the Young Women's Christian Association. Both of these bodies appeared to

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1 Paper on Women's Work presented to CD Staff Conference by Mrs M.D. Galetshoge, 2 July 1965.

have limited potential, however. The former was, in fact if not in principle, a European women's organisation with a decidedly patronising attitude towards African women's groups; the leadership of the latter was dominated by African women from South Africa and was affiliated to the YWCA there, and hence was viewed with some reserve by many of the Batswana groups. It was evident that if the non-affiliated clubs were to achieve their full potential they would need to be linked to some central body, and that neither of the existing organisations was suitable.

Action followed quickly. All known women's clubs were invited to attend a meeting in Francistown to discuss matters affecting women's work and in particular a proposal to form a national women's organisation.[1] The meeting took place in August 1965 when it was emphasised that although the Department had taken the initiative, it had only done so in response to many requests from individual groups for an opportunity to discuss co-ordinated action on a national basis.[2] In the event the meeting was unable to reach agreement about any new organisation, mainly because of objections from YWCA delegates, but it did agree to have further meetings to discuss ways and means of co-ordination.[3] Four months later the follow-up meeting was held, by which time a nucleus of women's club leaders had become quite determined to form a national body. Mrs Khiba, a member of the Department, together with Miss Sechele of Molepolole, had been active in gathering support during the intervening period. At the meeting Mrs Khiba gave a convincing address outlining the advantages to be gained from forming a national

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1 CDO to Secretaries of Women's Clubs, 26 July 1965. CD 7.
2 Minutes of a Meeting to discuss the Co-ordination of Women's Work, Leseding Community Centre, Francistown, 21 August 1965, p.1. CD 7.
3 Ibid., pp.6-7.

council, and at the end of the day the decision was taken to form the Botswana Council of Women (BCW).[1] The Council's development thereafter was steady and swift,[2] and shortly the Department, pursuing its policy of encouraging independent organisations wherever possible,[3] deliberately reduced its direct involvement[4] whilst continuing to give support and guidance where requested. During the first year of the BCW's life a regional organisation was established to prevent overconcentration of activities in the capital, a major contribution was made to the Independence Handicrafts Exhibition, and affiliation to the International Council of Women was arranged.[5] Over the same period, the YWCA had also been moving towards its own national organisation, which was formally established in December 1966. Like the BCW, the Botswana National YWCA retained close links with the Department whose policy was to facilitate co-ordination between organisations working in the same field, without putting pressure on any particular organisation to forego its own identity.[6]

In the meantime the need to develop home economics training on a systematic basis was not forgotten. Bechuanaland was represented for the first time at an FAO Regional Seminar on Home Economics in August 1965 by Mrs Galetshoge, who then spent a year at London University on an advanced course.[7] The transitional development plan included provision for a mobile home economics demonstration and training unit[8]

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1 CD Newsletter, 2, 1, January 1966, pp.9-12.
2 By July 1966 for example, it was already producing its own Newsletter.
3 Notes for discussion on Community Development Policy, January 1966, p.2.
4 Mrs Khiba, who had been the first chairman of BCW, resigned her position at the request of the CDO. CD Newsletter, 3, 3, August 1966, p.6.
5 CD Newsletter, December 1966, p.5.
6 Notes for discussion on Community Development Policy, January 1966, p.2. CD 2.
7 Postgraduate Diploma in Home Economics related to Community Development, Queen Elizabeth College, London, 1965-66.
8 Transitional Plan for Social and Economic Development, 1966, p.40.

which the Freedom from Hunger Campaign (FFHC) had shown great enthusiasm for supporting.[1] Unfortunately, for reasons unknown, this sound and self-contained scheme did not get the resources needed and was again included in the subsequent 1968-1973 national plan.[2]

Early in 1967, plans were drawn up by Mrs Galetshoge to reorganise and rationalise the women's work by forming a Women's Unit in the Department.[3] By the end of the year this was staffed by 10 local officers and three international volunteers, and consisted of three sections:

1 Organisation Section to assist in the formation and organisation of women's clubs.

2 Training Section covering training in: improved food usage based on local food resources; food preservation; food production; food storage; club organisation; self-help plans; family budgeting; child care; health and sanitation.

3 Radio Section[4] supporting the other two sections.[5]

The organisation work was spearheaded by full-time field officers touring the country to visit women's groups. Club and general local

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1 The leader of the FFHC Mission to Bechuanaland had in July 1966 discussed this with the CDO who subsequently submitted to FFHC a detailed scheme. See Department of CD, New Development Project No.IV, Home Economics Mobile Unit 1967-68, [September 1966].

2 Republic of Botswana, National Development Plan 1968-1973, 1968, p.64. The failure of this scheme to get support raises an interesting point regarding the changing pattern in the provision of overseas aid, especially by non-governmental agencies. In only a few years, by 1970, the situation had changed from one in which there were more suitable requests than these agencies could support, as apparently in the case under discussion, to one in which the agencies were experiencing some difficulty in finding suitable projects. Personal communication from D.G. Kirkpatrick, OXFAM Assistant Field Director for Southern Africa 1968-1970.

3 CD Newsletter, January 1967, p.3.

4 This will be discussed later in a section on radio work. See p. 273. below.

5 Application by Commissioner of CD for a Home Economics Adviser to assist in the Botswana Women's programme, December 1967.

problems were discussed, and guidance and instruction given on such topics as the role of clubs; organising meetings; electing leaders; the duties of committee members; keeping club accounts and stores; and planning programmes.[1] Training courses at village and regional levels were usually provided in response to requests, whilst the Department tended to take the initiative in planning national-level courses.[2] The intensive centralised courses had a useful ripple effect in that participants were encouraged to pass on their new knowledge locally. Mrs Malotle, the CDA at Makaleng, noted:

> Women who attended a week's course on preservation of food at Gaborone are giving cookery lessons on what they were taught - they have given a demonstration on preservation of tomatoes by making chutney, and the making of jam by using morula and pumpkin. These demonstrations were really successful....[3]

It was stated that there were some 80 women's clubs with a membership of approximately 16,000 at the end of 1967.[4] While this membership figure would appear to be optimistic, the number of clubs was certainly a considerable underestimate: over half this number were visited by field staff in mid-1967 in only two areas of the country.[5] Whatever the exact figures, it is safe to say that by the end of 1967 close contact was being made with several thousand women at the village level and that this contact was having a direct influence on home life. A valuable side-effect of the touring work of the women's unit officers was that detailed information about local needs and problems in a variety

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1 Report on Visits to Tonota, Francistown and Bokalaka, by Miss P. Maputle, Women's Unit Field Officer [1967].
2 Report on Nutrition and Home Economics Training Section by Mrs M.D. Galetshoge, Home Economics Training Officer [1967].
3 CD Newsletter, April-May 1967, p.10.
4 Application for a Home Economics Adviser, December 1967. The number of clubs had risen to 220 by 1970. National Development Plan 1970-1975, p.117.
5 There were 25 clubs in the Bokalaka and 17 in the Kgalagadi, CD Newsletter [3rd quarter 1967] pp.13-14.

of subjects became known to government: not only were government officers visiting and spending time at places where officers of other departments were seldom seen, but their means of communication and method of operation proved an informal medium in which much more detailed and more frank opinions and information were exchanged than was usually the case in 'government-people' encounters. Thus the mounting of training courses in the southern Kgalagadi produced local information of relevance to the Departments of Medical Services, Education, Agriculture, Veterinary Services, Co-operatives, Posts and Telegraphs, as well as to internal sections of the Community Development Department itself.[1]

During the period 1968-1970 women's work continued to develop, the training programme becoming more systematic with its objectives specified as:

1 To assist families in achieving basic requirements of food, clothing, health and other material needs necessary for better living.

2 To help improve home hygiene.

3 To promote the role and contribution of women's activities to national development.[2]

In addition to consolidation of the organisation and training programme the period was concerned with creating a greater awareness and understanding of the role of women in the life of local communities and in Botswana society generally. Public attention was directed to the importance of women in development,[3] their receptivity to new

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1 Report on Infant Feeding and Child Care Course, Tsabong and Bokspits, CD Women's Unit to Commissioner of CD, 20 October 1967. CDWU/T/10.
2 Nutrition and Home Economics Training Section Plan for 1968.
3 See "Role of Women in the Development of Botswana", report on a meeting at Serowe, Daily News, 24 March 1970.

ideas,[1] and their major contribution to nation-building.[2]

The task of promoting the role of women in community development was not without its problems. The lack of understanding of what was involved, even amongst Community Development field staff who represented one of the groups most intimately concerned with creating this very understanding, moved the Commissioner of Community Development to pen instructions on the matter, addressed "especially" to the male staff![3] The programme itself was experiencing difficulties: relationships between the main women's organisations, the YWCA and the BCW, were not as satisfactory as they could be, and furthermore some field staff were unhappy about the field activities of the Home Economics Training Team.[4] The first of these problems proved a particularly intractable one, calling forth what was in effect a reprimand to BCW delegates from their President, Lady Khama, at their 1970 Annual Conference.[5] The reduction of these tensions calls for broad-minded leadership on the part of the organisations themselves, and a careful and impartial role on the part of the Department.

Youth

The long and close association during the 1940's and 1950's between the Welfare Department and the Scouts and Guides has been fully discussed.[6] It was common knowledge that the Department dealt with youth,

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1 The Minister of Agriculture, at a conference on the BCW, stated that women were powerful as they were more open to suggestions for improvement than men. Daily News, 24 March 1970.
2 Address at Serowe Kgotla by President Khama, Daily News, 16 October 1969.
3 Commissioner of CD to CD Staff on the subject of Promoting the Participation of Women in CD, 10 May 1968. CD S/1.
4 Ibid.
5 "BCW Must Look at Contribution", Daily News, 4 September 1970.
6 See above, p.116-121.

work, but in so far as it may be said that there was a policy, that policy was confined to encouraging and assisting these two voluntary movements. The first signs of a change in this situation can be seen in 1963 when the Department began to look at the movements in a more detached and critical manner and indicated its awareness of the needs of youth in general.[1]

However another four years passed before anything deserving the description of a national policy regarding youth emerged, by which time it was recognised that the matter was too complex to be considered the responsibility of a single department. This section of the study is concerned with the evolution of that policy since much youth work has continued to be inextricably associated with community development, and the Department's role, though no longer monopolistic in this field, has been a major one.

The process of disengagement from the Scouts, already noticeable in 1963, became quite definite by 1965 as is illustrated by these comments on a proposed UNESCO-sponsored study tour for a Botswana youth leader:

> It is most important that the candidate, although a nominee of the Scouts Association, looks at youth and youth work in the light of the needs of the country and does not limit his study only to Scouting activities. And further to this, he must look at the Scouting programme critically to see whether the content of training and activity is in fact helping Scouts to make a positive contribution to local or national development, eg. soil conservation, voluntary work construction projects, co-operative agricultural projects, assistance with famine relief food distribution, rendering assistance to the elderly and handicapped etc.[2]

In the same year, the determination to put departmental policy regarding training for youth on to an open-ended basis had begun to show divi-

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1 See above, pp. 156-159.
2 CDO to Chief Commissioner, Boy Scouts. CD 8/2 of 26 July 1965.

dends when a fine 80-acre site was obtained near to the Gaborone Dam for a youth leadership training centre, subsequently named Aedume Park, with the full co-operation of the Scouts and Guides. A variety of youth groups were involved in the development of the centre, largely by means of voluntary work-camps,[1] thus establishing a tradition of self-help development which has continued to the present. In its early years Aedume Park provided basic facilities for use by any youth groups, but subsequently plans were drawn up for more active development including a market garden and poultry farm for training purposes.[2]

The trend of departmental policy was definite: to influence the Scouts and Guides to re-orientate themselves in relation to the current needs of the country, and to encourage other forms of youth work. However, it was left to an agriculturalist to expose directly the most pressing youth problem; that of the unemployed primary school-leavers, a problem widely experienced throughout Africa and now well publicised.[3] Ralph Atkinson, the Training Officer in the Department of Agriculture, raised the spectre of a crisis by pointing out that some 4,000 children would be leaving primary school at the end of 1964 expecting white-collar jobs, but

> For the large majority however there will be no place either in Government or private business and a concentrated effort to settle as many as possible back on the land should be undertaken.[4]

Although it cannot be said that urgent action followed, this warning clearly marked the beginning of serious attempts to grapple with the core of the "youth problem" leading finally to a fairly comprehensive and

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1 Cabinet Note on Youth Leadership Training Centre, Forest Hills, Gaberones, by CDO, 31 May 1965.
2 J.S. Matsheng, "Community Development in Botswana", 23 January 1968.
3 See Commonwealth Secretariat, Youth and Development in Africa (London, 1970).
4 R.E.H. Atkinson for Director of Agriculture to Member for Natural Resources, 27 October 1964.

systematic national youth policy by 1968. In 1965 several inter-departmental meetings were convened, and a useful analysis of the problem was produced by a small committee which considered that the first objective of a youth programme should be to provide

> satisfactory employment of a kind which qualifies young people for and directs their aspirations towards a permanent place in the developing economy.[1]

The report was submitted to the Minister of Labour and Social Services,[2] but for reasons unknown[3] nothing further was done about it for two years.[4]

If nothing was done on the broad front of working out a national youth policy, there was action on a more limited basis and the Department included proposals in the independence plans for services to tackle the problem of unemployed youth.[5] Contrary to the step taken by many other English-speaking African countries of setting up national, usually para-military, youth services[6] as part of a solution to "the youth problem", no such proposal was made for Botswana. The reasons are instructive. In the first place the fact that the Department of Community Development, rather than another agency, was taking the lead

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1 Conclusions and Recommendations of the ad hoc Committee on the Formation of a Youth Council ("the Harlow Committee"), 31 May 1965, p.5. This Committee had been formed as a result of the CDO's proposal to form a Youth Council. In the event it decided that a Council should not be established at that stage, and instead a general survey of the needs of youth was made.

2 Although no Ministry was at this stage considered to be responsible for youth in general, the Ministry of Labour and Social Services was responsible for voluntary youth movements. See above, p.247.

3 The general attitude of the Ministry, however, was that the question of youth work and youth movements was an unwelcome additional burden to its already enormous task of managing the formal education system: an understandable attitude, similar to that displayed earlier by the Department of Education in relation to adult literacy. See above, p.252.

4 Memorandum on Youth by R.M. Landell-Mills, Local Government Economist, 10 August 1967, p.1.

5 Transitional Plan for Social and Economic Development, 1966, p.98.

6 Such as Ghana, Kenya, Zambia, Malawi, Tanzania.

in making plans for youth was influential. Its general orientation towards grass-roots development gave it a natural bias in favour of local rather than national solutions.[1] Secondly, the warnings given by the Director of the Kenya National Youth Service[2] as well as first-hand observations of the Zambia Youth Service[3] had left a lively awareness of the problems and dangers of such national services.

The most important influence, however, not only in drawing attention away from ideas of a centralised youth service, but also in shaping the whole of government policy on youth, was the local experience of the Serowe Builders Brigade, established in 1965 by Patrick van Rensburg, the Principal of Swaneng Hill School. The brigade and others like it which subsequently developed, have been described and discussed elsewhere.[4] Suffice to say that it began with some 24 unemployed primary school-leavers who were given training as builders while concurrently being formed into a building team which became financially self-sufficient. The point of main relevance to the present study is that the project had by 1966 so clearly established its relevance to and potential for the tackling of the youth problem that it was used as the model in the Department's plan to encourage the development of locally-based and locally-adapted financially self-supporting projects.[5]

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1 When the problem of primary school leavers was raised in 1964, the Social Welfare Officer had emphasised the need "to associate and identify the local communities with the problem of youth and what to do about it". SWO to Chief Secretary, CD W/J/1 of 26 November 1964. The Harlow Committee (of which the CDO was a member), when considering a possible youth service, had also noted that "its immediate contribution would appear to lie in the field of local community development and it should therefore have a strong community bias."

2 G.W. Griffin, Director Kenya National Youth Service, to P. Wass, CDO, 16 February 1966.

3 The CDO had been in Zambia observing this service in January 1965.

4 See Patrick van Rensburg, Education and Development in an Emerging Country (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), pp.17-19, and "Education and Training in Relation to Rural Development", in Commonwealth Secretariat, Youth and Development in Africa, op.cit., pp.111-134.

5 Transitional Plan for Social and Economic Development, 1966, p.98.

Other brigades followed, not only in building but also in farming, carpentry, handicrafts, mechanics, tanning and leatherwork, and textiles. The present distribution of brigades is shown in Figure 7 (p.266). Three of these, the Lobatse Builders Brigade, the Lekgaba Centre (Handicrafts) in Francistown, and later the Kanye Builders Brigade, were staffed by the Department itself. In 1968 a co-ordinating committee to keep an eye on these developments was formed under the chairmanship of the Commissioner of Community Development, with a senior technical training instructor from the Botswana Training Centre being a member.[1] In May 1969, this was superseded by the National Brigade Co-ordinating Committee, established by Presidential decree.

The story of the development of the Brigade Movement, as it has become known, is mainly one of non-government initiative,[2] spearheaded by Patrick van Rensburg and members of his staff at Swaneng.[3] The purpose of this brief description of the brigades is to indicate the involvement of the Department in their development, and to emphasise the important place they occupied in the youth aspect of community development policy during the period under review.

The evolution of a general policy for youth made a significant advance in mid-1967 with the Memorandum on Youth by P.M. Landell Mills which built upon the basis of the Harlow Committee's report but went considerably further in several practical ways. Coming to the same conclusion as had the Harlow Committee, namely that a centralised youth service should not be established,[4] this memorandum distinguished two

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1 Report on the CD Department by P.B. Watermeyer, 1 May 1968.
2 Government recognises that this will continue to be the case. National Development Plan 1970-1975, p.111.
3 The whole movement has been described and analysed in detail in a penetrating study by Anthony Martin, Report on the Brigades in Botswana (Government Printer: Gaborone, 1971).
4 This remains the policy. See National Development Plan 1970-1975, p.111.

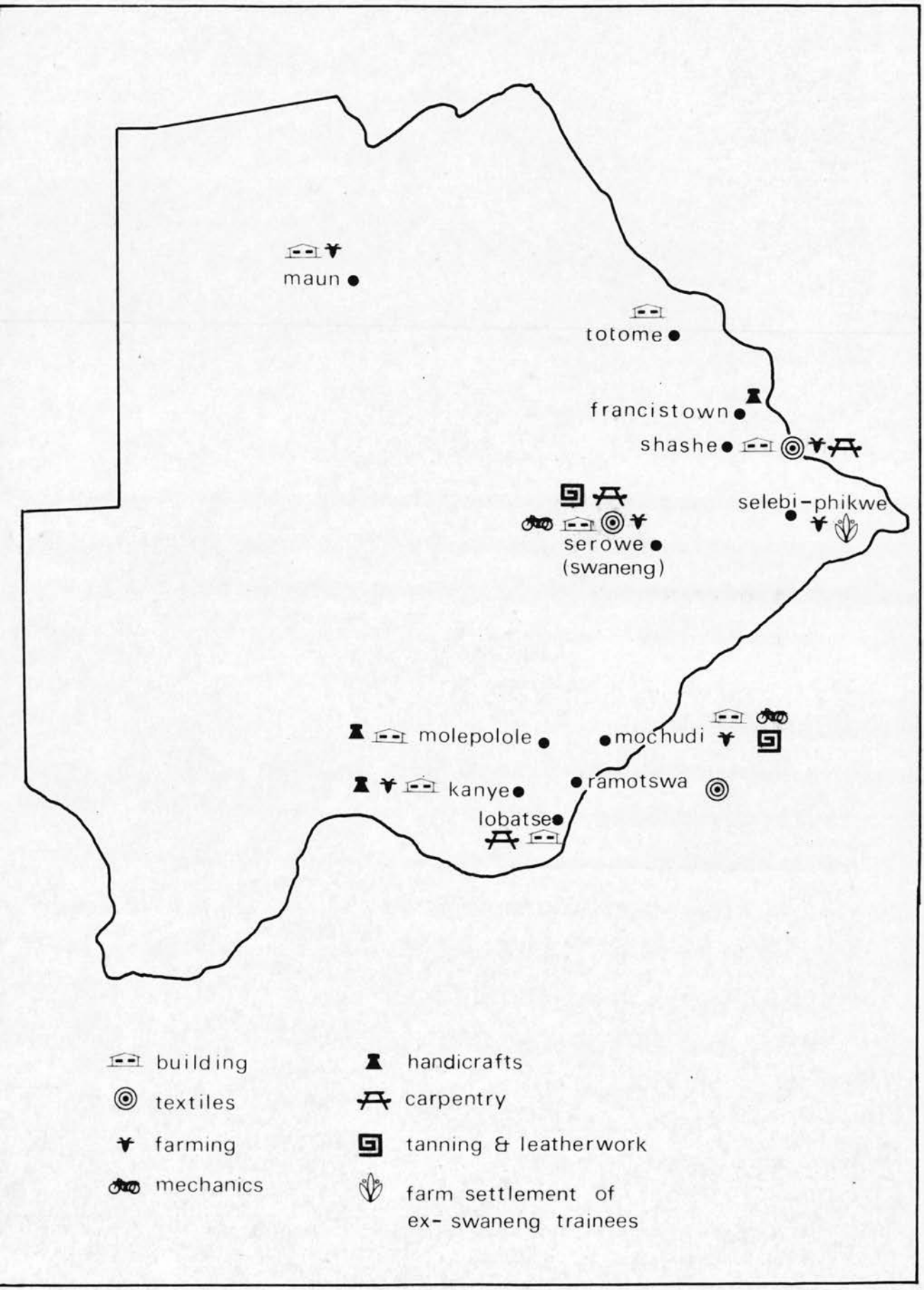

Figure 7. Distribution of Brigades in Botswana, March 1971

(Source: A. Martin, Report on the Brigades in Botswana (Gaborone, 1971))

separate objectives normally combined in the concept of such services:

> Firstly, to provide moral and physical training,... to inculcate the virtues of patriotism, self-reliance and dedication to community development. Secondly to provide basic vocational training, so that on completion of service, the youths may become skilled members of the community.[1]

This analysis led to a rather interesting conclusion particularly as it affected the Scouts and Guides. It was recommended that the vocational training needs could best be met by various farmer trainee schemes organised by the Agricultural Extension Service, by radical revision of the primary schools, and by brigade-type developments. Moral and physical training, however, could best be accomplished by the existing voluntary youth organisations, the Scouts and Guides, which at December 1966 had a combined membership of 12,254, "a formidable figure amounting to over 10% of the total age group 10-21." To make such a policy fully effective Government should make a definite decision to regard the Scout and Guide Moreements as the national youth organisations responsible for the moral and physical training of youth. Consequent upon this it would be necessary to "orientate the two Movements to cope with their new national responsibilities and to focus on the special needs of Botswana's youth in the context of a poor nation striving to develop."[2] The Memorandum recommended further that the time had now arrived to establish a Youth Council, not in relation to the vocational training and employment aspect of youth work, but to concern itself with co-operation and co-ordination between youth organisations.

These recommendations provided the basis for a new impetus and

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1 Memorandum on Youth, 1967, p.9.
2 Ibid.

direction in the field of services for youth. The Commissioner of Community Development began talks with the Scouts and Guides with a view to their making radical changes to their organisations as proposed, and also with the purpose of establishing a Youth Council,[1] which was duly established the following year, its general objective being the promotion of the role of youth in national development.[2] At the same time the Department decided to give more positive guidance to local groups who showed interest in starting youth clubs. Model constitutions were prepared which

> could be used to meet the needs of youth by mobilising them for economic projects, training them in food production methods, instilling in them the spirit of voluntary service and involving them in development activities which spring from their own awareness of their needs.[3]

In July 1968 there were 15 such clubs, with a membership totalling 422, each club engaged on a specific project, mostly in market gardening.[4]

With the acceptance of Landell Mill's report by Government, it could be said that for the first time there existed a national policy on youth. This was reflected in the 1968-73 National Development Plan which outlined the specific steps in the strategy:

> (a) The encouragement of the formation of Builders' Brigades, Mechanical Brigades, Farming Brigades and other such groups....
>
> (b) The adaptation of the primary school syllabus....
>
> (c) To encourage national youth organisations... to orientate their activities to meet the peculiar needs of Botswana's youth.[5]

The co-operation of a wide range of agencies was needed to implement these steps, though the Department of Community Development remained

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1 Commissioner of CD to All Organisations Interested in the Youth Problem, 24 October 1967.
2 Draft Constitution of the Botswana National Youth Council, 1968.
3 Department of CD, Report for Period April-July 1968, p.10.
4 Ibid.
5 National Development Plan 1968-1973. p.65.

the government agency directly responsible for the first and third, as well as for the success of the Youth Council.

Recreation

In terms of priorities for social and economic development, recreation commanded far less urgency than the women's and youth work discussed above. Nevertheless the intrinsic value of athletic sports was recognised and the Department was aware that its contribution to this field during the early 1960's, which consisted mainly of assisting individual clubs with small items of equipment, had been rather indeterminate, lacking a definite sense of direction. Easily the most important national sport was football which was not developing as its organisers would have liked, owing to shortage of funds. One of the reasons for this situation was the difficulty in staging revenue-earning matches without the aid of fenced grounds.[1] The organisers, the Bechuanaland Union Sports Association (BUSA), also felt inhibited about staging matches with visiting teams from neighbouring countries since they felt, quite justifiably, that the Bechuanaland grounds compared very unfavourably.[2] The main need of the sport therefore appeared to be to establish a fenced ground of high standard with good facilities for players and spectators, and quite clearly this needed the injection of outside capital. There was also what appeared to the Community Development Officer to be an organisational weakness in terms of the long-term development of the game. The growth of sporting activities throughout the world had clearly been based on organisations

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1 In 1964, with the exception of football pitches in institutions such as police barracks and teachers training colleges, there was only one fenced ground in the country, at Serowe, where the fence consisted of "rubber-hedge" plant.

2 For example there was not a single turfed pitch until 1970.

devoted to individual sports. He therefore suggested that BUSA should reorganise itself into a Football Association, leaving responsibility for other sports to other groups.

At the time that these needs in the field of football were crystallising, the new capital at Gaborone was being developed. At an early stage in the planning of the township the Department had secured an area of some 40 acres to be set aside for the development of sporting facilities. It soon became apparent, however, that Government did not have adequate resources to develop the site. Accordingly towards the end of 1964, after consultation with various bodies interested in sport, the Department decided to take the initiative in launching an independent appeal for funds. Thus the Bechuanaland National Sports Appeal Fund (BENSAF) was established. Its first objective was the construction of a national sports centre at Gaborone to consist of a football and athletics stadium, additional football pitches, six tennis courts, netball courts, swimming pool, clubhouse and service facilities. The appeal was launched in March 1965 with a target of R80,000, and by June 1966 over R55,000 had been collected. The tennis courts, clubhouse and stadium were completed in 1966, the latter providing the venue for the Independence ceremony on 30 September 1966. By agreement with BENSAF the Botswana Football Association (BFA), which had succeeded BUSA, took responsibility for administration of the stadium and inaugurated a lively programme of crowd-drawing matches.

In mid-1966 another development took place

> which has always been behind the idea of BENSAF since its formation, and that is the establishment of a Botswana Sports Council, which is composed of representatives of all nationally recognised sporting bodies in Bechuanaland. It has been felt for some time that BENSAF should limit itself to fund-raising, and that another body was needed whose functions would include the control and development

of sport as well as the administration of any funds granted by BENSAF.[1]

The Community Development Officer was nominated ex-officio as the government representative on the Council, which became active in promoting and regulating sport in the next few years, particularly in the encouragement of the creation of national associations for individual sports, such as the Botswana Lawn Tennis Association, formed in 1967.

The Department's policy was thus in some ways similar to policy with regard to women's work, in that it had seen one of the main channels for development as being the formation of effective national organisations. It differed in that although the Department had taken more direct initiative in the creation of sporting organisations than it had in the case of women's work, having done so it was content to leave further development to these bodies rather than implementing its own training programme as it had done in the field of home economics. The success of the work of BENSAF and the Sports Council would appear to vindicate this strategy in which the Department acted as an initiator and catalyst rather than an executive agent.

Other Fields of Activity

Over the period 1965-1970 the four areas of activity discussed above - adult literacy, women's and youth work, and the development of sports - continued to develop as main features of the community development programme. A fifth aspect, social welfare in the sense of social security and rehabilitative measures, made little or no progress. Since 1963 the trend in departmental policy had been away from a curative

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1 BENSAF, Chairman's Report of Activities up to August 1966, 10 August 1966, p.4.

towards a preventive strategy, which inevitably meant that the needs of disabled and underprivileged individuals became displaced by the new concentration on community progress. Even the intention in 1966 that social welfare on a local ad hoc basis would continue to engage the attention of departmental staff[1] was not realised, and in 1968 a review of the previous three years' activity accorded this field no mention.[2] In sum, it ceased to figure as a positive aspect of the community development programme.

By way of contrast, two new fields of activity were introduced during the period, and require brief mention here. The first may be summarily discussed. This was the World Food Program School Feeding Scheme which the Department took over in September 1967. Except that it provided an opportunity for local women's groups to render community service by preparing and distributing the food the exercise had little to do with community development,[3] and merely added a very heavy administrative and logistical burden on to the Department's responsibilities.

The other development was more constructive. In early 1968 an International Voluntary Service (IVS) volunteer working in the Department pointed out that several craft projects in the country were operating in isolation. These projects included the Serowe Textile Workshop (weaving rugs); Bopa Ceramics in Gaborone (a pottery workshop); and Tiro Ya Diatla (basket-making and handwork) in Lobatse. Handcrafts of commercial value were also produced by Bushmen of the Kgalagadi and by woodcarvers at Shashe. It was suggested that these projects could benefit from some co-ordination and assistance, both in organisation

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1 See above, p. 247.
2 Memorandum on Re-organisation of the Community Development Department, 1968, p.4.
3 Few people considered it to be a community development activity. See below, p. 333.

and training, and in marketing. There was also scope for the development of other handicrafts.[1] Proposals were made to establish the machinery for raising capital and improving marketing arrangements,[2] and the promotion of handicrafts subsequently became a regular feature of the community development programme.[3]

Use of Mass Media

To support the field programme, experiments were made in the use of the printed word and the radio. August 1965 saw the appearance of the first issue of the Community Development Newsletter, edited by an IVS volunteer, which was published monthly for two years before becoming a quarterly publication under the title Tsa Ipelegeng, a name which in turn was replaced by Boipelego Ke Eng? in late 1968. The format usually included information about government policy, reports of activities from around the country, short articles, practical hints to local clubs, departmental news and correspondence. It was distributed free by the Department and, although no systematic evaluation of its effect was made, informal discussions with members of women's clubs, youth clubs, Village Development Committees and departmental staff indicated that it was widely appreciated.

The value of radio as a medium for adult education in developing countries was well established by the early 1960's,[4] but as already pointed out had been long neglected in Botswana despite promising beginnings.[5] The Community Development Department was among the first to

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1 Department of CD, Report for the Period April-July 1968, pp.13-15.
2 Memorandum on Botswanacraft Development Trust, July 1968.
3 For example, a Handicraft Training Centre was opened in Molepolole in 1971, dealing with pottery, textile dyeing, clothing manufacture, kaross and leatherwork. Daily News, 25 January 1971.
4 See Wilbur Schramm, Mass Media and National Development (Stanford University for UNESCO, 1964).
5 See above, p.57.

establish a regular programme of its own, beginning with talks on aspects of community development in April 1966.[1] A few months later a weekly programme of reports on self-help projects entitled "Tsa Ipelegeng" was added. Comparatively little preparation was done for either of these programmes and it soon became apparent that a systematically planned series was required if the medium was to be used effectively. An IVS volunteer, Judy Matthew, who had already contributed to the Radio Botswana women's magazine, was asked to draw up a scheme for a women's educational programme. The result was "A re Kopaneleng Sedibeng" ("Let us meet at the well") which began in February 1967 as a pilot project. Evaluation questionnaires were sent to women's clubs known to have radios, and 10 clubs were visited at the time of broadcasts to assess the operation of women's clubs as listening groups.[2] The results of the evaluation were used to modify the programme which then became a regular weekly feature. Further careful evaluation led to the introduction of a second women's programme "A re eng Kgonnye" ("Let us go for firewood"), which concentrated on home economics training for village women. As part of a co-ordinated approach, the programme produced by Radio Botswana staff, "Tsa Bommaetsho" ("Women's Affairs"), was geared towards townswomen and more educated women generally.[3] In mid-1967 some 80 women's clubs had radios, mostly donated by the United Kingdom Freedom From Hunger Campaign, and a very conservative estimate put the audience of the programmes as "at least 1,000".[4] At the end of 1967 another most thorough evaluation of these programmes was undertaken, based on questionnaires completed by 60 women's clubs, which revealed

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1 CD Newsletter, 2, 4, April 1966, p.9.
2 CD Newsletter, February-March 1967, p.10.
3 Memorandum on Women's Radio Programmes by Judy Matthew, CD Women's Unit, 19 July 1967.
4 Department of CD Women's Unit, Memorandum on Women's Radio Programmes, 1 August 1967.

strong support for the service as well as giving suggestions and guidance for the future.[1]

Using the experience gained from these women's programmes, which were given high praise by the Broadcasting Officer,[2] the Department revised its general community development programme on a systematic basis, which led, after another evaluated pilot project, to the weekly feature "Boipelego Ke Eng?" ("What is Community Development?"), renamed "A re Ipelegeng" ("Let us help ourselves") in February 1968.[3] The programme typically consisted of interviews with community leaders, stories of self-help projects and sometimes dramatised episodes to illustrate problems of village development and their solutions.

In 1970, community development broadcasts averaged 3½ hours per week out of Radio Botswana's total broadcasting time of 91 hours. The full breakdown of broadcasting by programme type was:

Programme	Hours
News and Current Affairs	10¾
Features	13¼
Education	13½
Music	35
Agriculture	2½
Labour	¼
Community Development	3½
Miscellaneous Entertainment	12¼
	91[4]

1 Evaluation of the CD Women's Unit radio programmes, by Veronica Colver, 19 December 1967.
2 He considered them to be the most carefully planned and effective extension programmes on the radio. Personal communication, Mr Brian Egner, Broadcasting Officer, July 1968.
3 Report on CD Department by P.B. Watermeyer, 1 May 1968.
4 National Development Plan 1970-1975, p.126.

Village Level Organisation

Theoretically, pride of place in community development strategy from 1965 to 1968, and even after this period, was reserved for the building-up of a network of effective Village Development Committees (VDC's) as the basic units in the process of "development from below". In fact, although the first VDC's had been in operation successfully in 1965, development of this network was severely restricted during 1966 and 1967 owing to the priority given to the Ipelegeng food-for-work programme which, as already shown, taxed administrative resources to their fullest extent. A more permanent form of check was imposed by the lack of significant numbers of community development workers, in particular those with a sound training. The shortage of such workers was more crucial in regard to the improvement of established VDC's than it was in the creation of new ones, for creation of a committee demanded far less of the worker in terms of ability and judgment than did the task of ensuring its stead growth and smooth operation.

However, as the main food-for-work programme as a relief measure began to run down in 1967, the Department was able to devote more of its energy to the long-term task of "institution-building", the emphasis shifting to the workings of democracy at local level rather than the immediate achievement of visible village change. Seventeen new CDA's were posted to villages charged with the task of forming VDC's[1], which were then to proceed on a systematic exercise of planning village development.[2] The policy of regarding the VDC as the basis for the community development programme was re-emphasised:

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1 These were also sometimes referred to as Ipelegeng Development Committees.

2 CD Newsletter, September 1967, pp.1-6.

> for it [the VDC] both reflects the needs and wishes of the people in the villages and acts as a channel through which the Department and others, can help them to accept change, welcome and benefit from it, and thereby improve their own standard of living.[1]

By July 1968 there was a total of 105 VDC's, of which 75 had been formed during the previous year.[2] The Department considered that they were "functioning satisfactorily" though no evidence is available to corroborate or disagree with this assessment. The experience of Tanzania suggests that VDC's require very careful attention, in terms of their composition, internal and external relationships, identification of role, and efficiency of fulfilling stated roles, to name but a few aspects.[3] It cannot merely be assumed that their very existence indicates satisfactory functioning. The survey of community development conducted in 1968 underlines this point and also the need for a systematic and probing evaluation.[4] Since a VDC, although largely the creation of the Community Development Department, rapidly ceases to be the Department's preserve, involved as it is, in theory at any rate, in all aspects of village life,[5] such an evaluation is of central concern to the whole nation-building process. It should involve all agencies, and its findings should lead to policy decisions at the highest level.

In mid-1968 there were 35 CDA's in the field, each having some three villages in his area. The intention of the Department was to bring all villages within the sphere of its operations, which would necessitate a large increase in the number of CDA's, eventually to well

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1 Report on the CD Department, 1 May 1968, p.1.
2 Department of CD, Report for the Period April-June 1968, 31 July 1968, pp.2-3.
3 See H. Bienen, Party Transformation and Economic Development (Princeton University Press, 1967), p.349 ff.
4 See Chapter 8 below, p. 343-345.
5 Paper on CD in Botswana by J.S. Matsheng, 23 January 1968, p.4. And see Bienen, op.cit., p.349 for comparison with Tanzania.

over 100, based on a long-term objective of one CDA per 5,000 people to be attained by 1973.[1] By 1970, there were 96 CDA's,[2] supervised by one CDO, 5 Assistant CDO's, and 11 Senior CDA's. The objective by that year had been revised to one CDA per 350 families, which would require over 300 CDA's. During the Plan period 1970-75 it was envisaged that the number of CDA's would rise to 170.[3] Judging by the experience of other countries, it is considered doubtful whether this large expansion will in fact take place. The CDA's still remain essentially multi-purpose workers as a list of their manifold duties indicates.[4] India, the pioneer of the multi-purpose village level worker, found in time that she was forced to modify this role in the direction of limitation of range of activities and greater specialisation of function.[5] It is commonplace in the organisation of community development programmes that low-level workers are given a wide range of responsibilities, the effective discharge of which proves beyond them. As with the role of the VDC, the role of the CDA in Botswana calls for a detailed analysis using the tools of modern behavioural sciences, especially in the field of organisation and management.

The fairly extensive spread of VDC's and the pattern of CDA's areas of responsibility in 1969 in one district, the Ngwaketse, are illustrated in Figure 8 (p.279). In order to give an indication of this coverage in relation to settlement patterns, a population distribution map is given at Figure 9 (p.280). The ratio of CDA's to total district

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1 National Development Plan 1968-1973, p.63.
2 Of these, 46 were on temporary appointments and had received only minimal training.
3 National Development Plan 1970-1975, p.115.
4 See Appendix VII, p.402.
5 See Guy Hunter, The Administration of Agricultural Development: Lessons from India (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp.50-54.

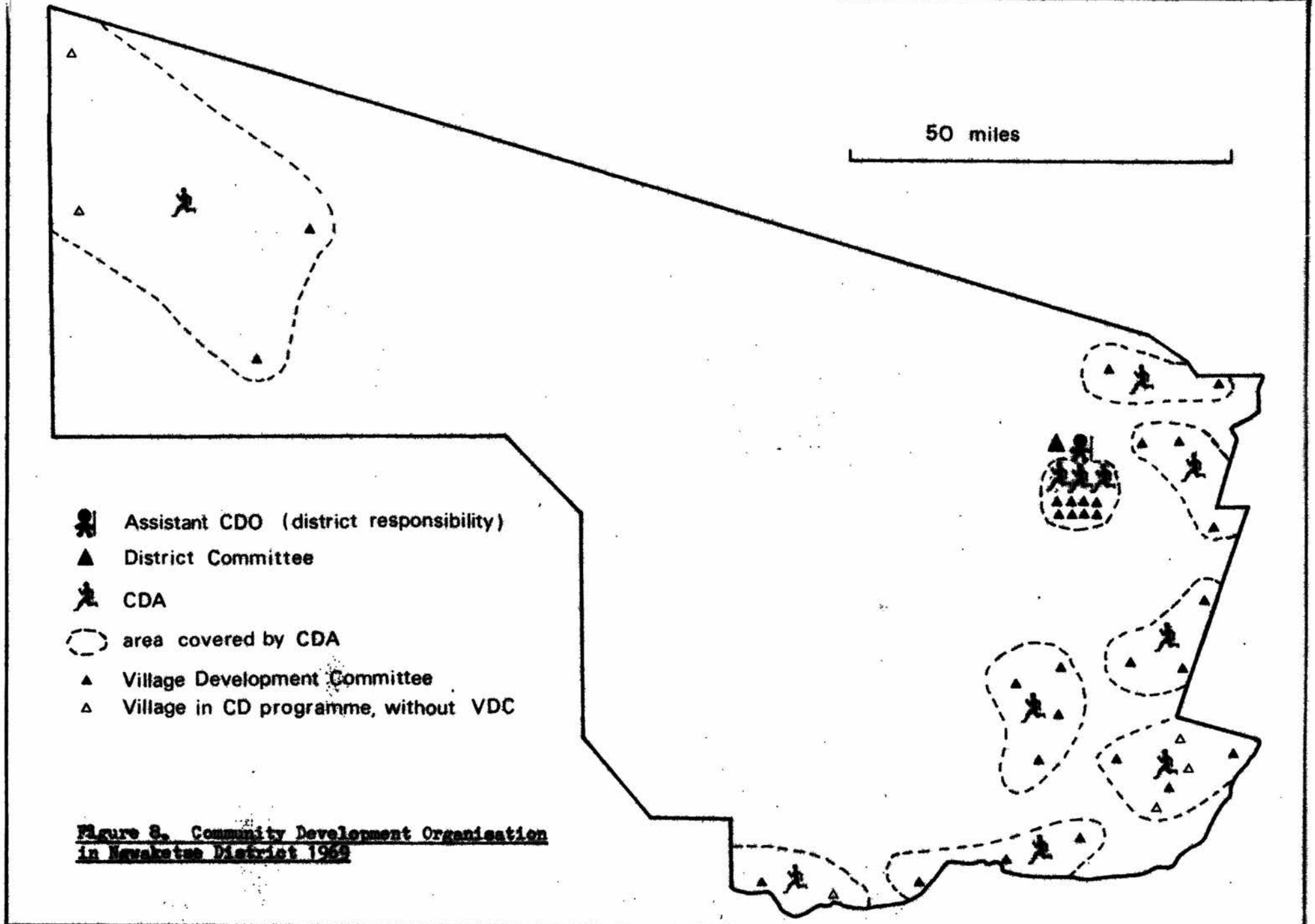

Figure 8. Community Development Organisation in Mpraeteus District 1969

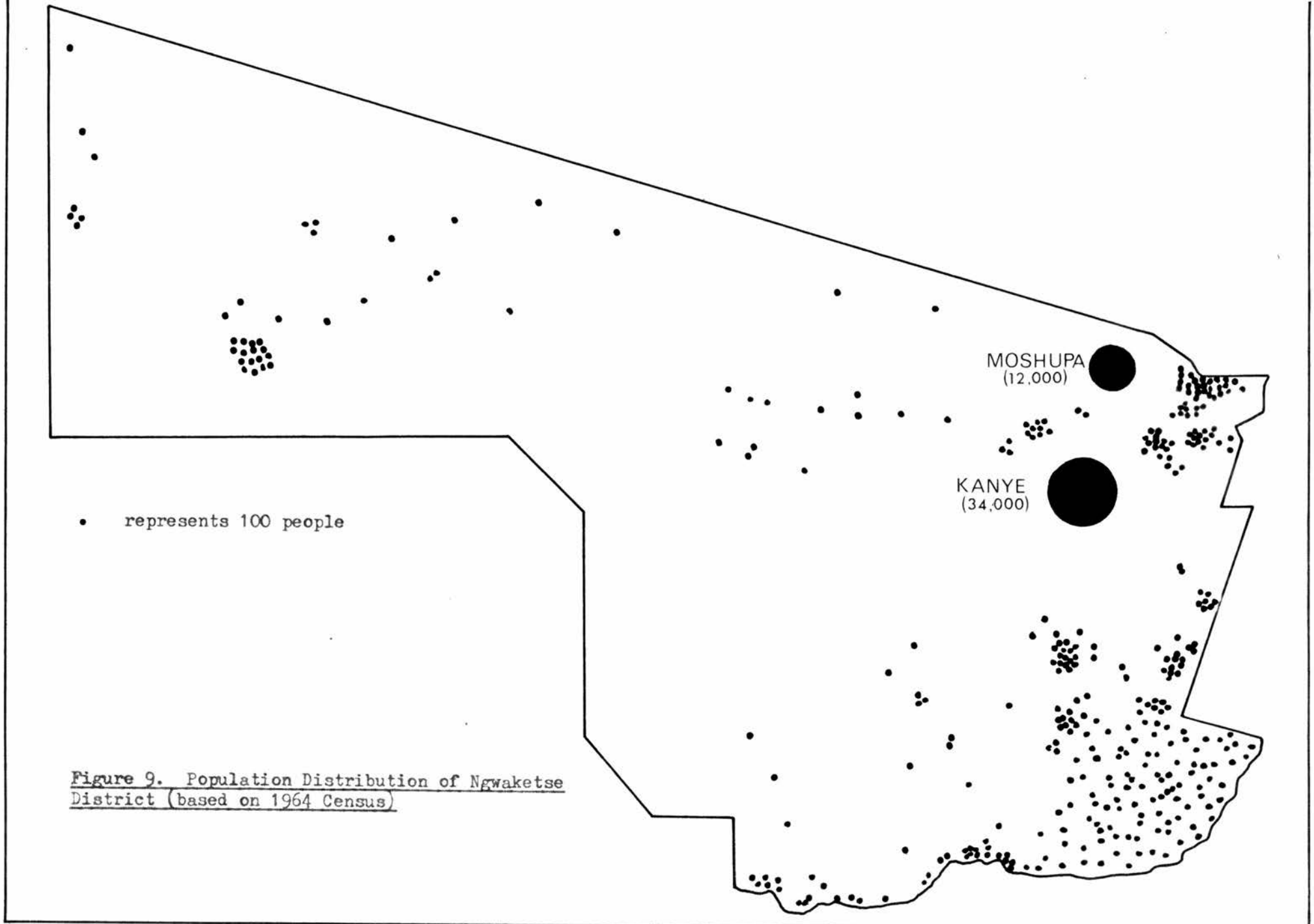

Figure 9. Population Distribution of Ngwaketse District (based on 1964 Census)

population was then 1 to 8,000 people,[1] though of course the actual numbers of people living in villages for which individual CDA's were responsible varied considerably from this mean: in Kanye the ratio was 1 to over 11,000 whilst in Western Ngwaketse the combined population of the four villages supervised by one CDA was only 4,000. This example gives further support to the case for examining the functions of VDC's. No guidelines or model constitutions were issued by the Department and, so far from having been refined since the first VDC's were established in the Kgatleng and Tati Districts,[2] the function of the VDC was interpreted simply in terms of choosing and implementing self-help projects.[3]

A formalised procedure for processing self-help schemes had already been worked out during the food-for-work programme. By 1968 some details had been modified but essentially the procedure remained the same;[4] a procedure, it may be added, not dissimilar to that adopted by Ghana in the 1950's,[5] or being used by Tanzania in the 1960's. The similarity is hardly surprising for it is difficult to envisage any radically different system for what is a fairly straightforward, if somewhat tedious, process of checking on availability of resources and conformity with a district or national strategy.

District Organisation

In the choosing and planning of local development projects it is

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1 Eleven CDA's to 95,000 population, the latter figure being an extrapolation from the 1964 Census figure of just under 82,000, based on an increase of 3% per annum. Census 1964, pp.17, 56 and 62.
2 See above, pp.196-198.
3 Based on information supplied by Miss P. Maputle, ACDO Kanye 1968-1969.
4 See Appendix VIII, p.403, for a copy of a Project Application Form.
5 See Peter du Sautoy, The Organisation of a Community Development Programme (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), Appendix IV.

essential that there is adequate involvement and support of the people's representatives at both village and district level, namely the VDC and the District Council respectively. At village level this was usually obtained. During their first three years VDC's had demonstrated that they were suitable institutions for encouraging village development and their success was notable enough for them to be singled out for special mention by President Khama in his foreword to the 1968-1973 Development Plan.[1]

At district level, however, the situation was less clear-cut, despite or perhaps partly because of the considerable experience of district administration gained through Tribal Councils and subsequently District Councils. Whereas at village level the VDC dealt with all aspects of development, at district level there was no equivalent body with a comprehensive range of responsibility or representation: in short a committee responsible for planning district development, composed both of members of the District Council and other key people in the district, including leaders of unofficial groups and officers of relevant government departments.

The reasons for this situation are not difficult to find, though its implications for development planning were not sufficiently realised to call for rectifying action until 1970. The legislation setting up District Councils had not charged them with responsibility for all-round development: it only specified certain aspects such as primary education, health and sanitation, water supplies, recreation and welfare.[2] Agriculture, animal husbandry and veterinary matters, for example, were not their responsibility but remained with central government depart-

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1 National Development Plan 1968-1973, Foreword by President Khama.
2 Local Government (District Councils) Law, No.35 of 1965.

ments. In practice, the onerous administrative burdens which their obligatory responsibilities imposed on them, as in the field of tax-collection and primary education, further limited the ability of Councils to take an interest in all-round development. One additional point needs to be made in this connection. Government was anxious for these Councils to feel that they were modern local authorities responsible for their own affairs, and consequently not only did it not give adequate attention to the working relationships between Councils and central government department but even took the view that central government officers were not to "interfere".[1] This may have been laudable in terms of demonstrating democratic decentralisation at work,[2] but was not conducive to the rapid build-up of meaningful working links with Government technical departments, which in many cases were quite content, even relieved, to be able to follow up their own programmes without having them "messed about" by local Councils.[3]

Quite apart from these considerations concerning the operation of local Councils, the lack of experience in Government of systematic co-ordination between departments further contributed to the unsatisfactory organisational situation at district level. Co-operation there had been, but only on an ad hoc and personal basis, and this was virtually limited to the implementation of departmentally-conceived activities rather than applying to the preparation of plans. The "district

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1 This is illustrated in the role of the DC. See below, pp. 321-323.
2 In some ways this was more apparent than real: the Ministry of Local Government and Lands retained considerable financial control. Furthermore Councils needed far more direct guidance and tutelage in their task than the Ministry admitted or gave.
3 The relationship between officials and elected representatives is a perennial problem at all levels of government administration, though it tended to be accentuated in the "colonial" situation. Similar attitudes on the part of officials had been evident earlier. See above, p. 180.

team"[1] structure, widespread throughout British African territories, had never been introduced in Bechuanaland. The weakness in district-level development administration and organisation was thus three-fold: the lack of a holistic responsibility and approach on the part of Councils; the lack of co-ordination between government departments; and the inadequate provision for working co-ordination between Councils and Government.

Some of these problems had been, at least in part, recognised earlier. The question of co-ordination of extension work had arisen in discussions between the Deputy Director of Medical Services and the Social Welfare Officer as early as 1964, both of whom subsequently made proposals for a committee to co-ordinate the work of extension departments, in particular the Departments of Medical Services, Agriculture, Education and Social Welfare.[2] Unfortunately, these recommendations were not taken up, and the proposers failed to press their positions. It appears that as far as the Secretariat was concerned such co-ordinating machinery was entirely superfluous.

Further attempts to establish suitable development planning and administration machinery, this time at district level, were made in 1965. When the District Council Law was being prepared, a recommendation was made that:

> there should be some provision in the Law for a District Development Committee, which would be one of the statutory

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1 A team constituted of administrative and technical officers, with representatives of the local community. "The essential element is the bringing together of departmental officers, briefed with general policy, with voluntary societies and agencies responsible for local government, to agree on plans and projects." CD (1958), op.cit., p.47.

2 Deputy Director of Medical Services to Director of Medical Services on the subject of an Interdepartmental Committee, DCS/MB of 3 March 1964; Social Welfare Officer to Acting Director of Agriculture on the subject of a co-ordinated interdepartmental policy, CD W/CD/1 of 9 March 1964; Social Welfare Officer to Member for Tribal Affairs and Social Services on Co-ordination of Extension Work, CD W/CD/1 of 11 March 1964.

> committees of the District Council. Composition would allow for some Council members, plus non-elected representation, as well as representatives of Government Departments. Functions should be specific and it should have some authority: it seems that a mistake to be avoided is to create such development committees if they are too low-powered to be effective. Stated responsibilities should include promotion and control of community development in the area. Such a committee might provide a suitable forum for some serious regional (ie. District) planning.[1]

The Community Development Officer pointed out that he did not favour the formation of District Community Development Committees as such since they would not command sufficient status or influence to meet the needs of a situation which demanded a comprehensive approach to the problems of district development. The Ministry of Local Government, however, did not consider that such district development committees were necessary: a decision which delayed the establishment of a co-ordinated approach to district development. More particularly the decision effectively hampered the evolution of community development strategy in that there was no adequate body at district level through which community development could be meaningfully integrated and related to other aspects of local development. The limitations of what could be achieved through village development unrelated to and unsupported by a suitable district strategy were already becoming apparent to the Department by the end of 1965 as a result of the experience of the pilot project. Consequently another effort was made to obtain action at top-level. Addressing himself to the Economic Planning Unit[2] of the Ministry of Finance, the Community Development Officer emphasised the need for district planning:

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1 CDO to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government. CD 4 of 10 August 1965.
2 The Unit was the forerunner of the Ministry of Development Planning.

> To develop this country properly it will be necessary not only to have a national development plan, but also district or area plans, in which the various needs of the area are assessed, the plans and wishes of the inhabitants as well as government departments taken into account, and priorities laid down.[1]

In this case as well, however, the point was not taken at Ministerial level. The net result was thus the rather odd situation that in areas where VDC's were established and CDA's were operating, village level machinery was far better geared towards integrated planning and development than its district level counterpart. In effect what had happened was that in this respect community development organisation had advanced more rapidly than local government organisation, a situation not unknown in other countries.[2]

With the Ministry of Local Government unwilling to adopt a policy in which community development was clearly defined as a local authority responsibility, the Department was left to work out its own arrangements with individual councils. The drawbacks in this situation have already been pointed out, but there was some advantage since in a centrally-imposed pattern there is always the danger of insufficient adaptation to local conditions. At all events, negotiations between the Department and local councils produced a variety of solutions: the Kweneng District formed a Health and Community Development Committee, the massive Central District a Community and Economic Development Committee, the North-West District agreed that its Development Committee should include community development functions. Two points require clarification here. In the first place, these negotiations were taking place at the same time - the first half of 1966 - that the Department was heavily

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1 CDO to Ministry of Finance, 3 February 1966. CD 2/11.
2 See CO (1958), op.cit., p.48.
3 See above, p.

involved in "crash-planning" for the nation-wide food-for-work scheme, and hence much less attention was given to this question of district community development structures and how they would work than was really needed. Secondly, despite their names, all these committees fell far short of the type of District Development Committee proposed above, in terms of status, function and composition.

In 1968 another departmental initiative in the matter was taken when the Commissioner instructed his Regional Assistant CDO's,[1] with the aid of District Commissioners, to establish "District Committees". In many cases these committees did not reach the functioning stage. The Ngwaketse was one of the more successful examples, where the District Committee did fulfil some though by no means all of the criteria for a District Development Committee as discussed above. It had a fairly wide membership, with the District Commissioner as chairman, plus representatives of the Police, Education, Veterinary, Community Development, Forestry and Medical Departments, the District Council, and voluntary bodies.[2] However, lacking either any district strategy for co-ordinated development, or any specific direction as to how it should plan its work, its role was limited to the sharing of information about individual agencies' activities, and to *ad hoc* requests for assistance and offers of co-operation.[3] Furthermore, being too "low-powered" in the sense that there were no statutory provisions requiring it to meet or investing any authority in its deliberations, it could do little to influence the plans of sectoral agencies.

In late 1970, however, Government came to the conclusion that "many of the difficulties being experienced at the district level arise from lack of co-ordination between officials of Government departments in

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1 This appointment is discussed below, pp.296-298.
2 These were the Red Cross, BCW, YMCA, YWCA, Scouts and Guides.
3 Based on information communicated by Miss Patricia Maputle, Assistant CDO, Kanye, 1968.

the districts, and between these officials, District Councils and Voluntary Organisations."[1] Accordingly, administrative reforms at district level were announced by the President.[2] Three features of these reforms are of particular interest:

1 District Development Committees were to be set up, whose tasks included the drawing up of comprehensive development plans, ensuring co-ordination between agencies, and advising both local groups and central government on district development matters. District Commissioners were appointed as chairmen of Committees and membership would represent all Government Departments, the local Council, the Chief, and the private sector.

2 District Commissioners were to be drawn more directly into the development process, by means of their chairmanship of District Development Committees, by being given greater powers of supervision over local Council staff, and by assuming responsibility for community development in their areas.

3 Community development was to be integrated much more closely with the work of District Councils. This would be achieved by the new role of the District Commissioner, and by an insistence that all community development projects were to be channelled through District Councils, even in cases where no outside assistance was required.

4 The position of tribal authorities was to be strengthened so that they were kept fully in the picture of development activities, by such means as according them representation on District Development Committees. This is a significant step since it reflects a tacit admission on the part of Government of the continuing influence of chiefs and tribal leaders.

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1 K.P. Morake, "A Tool of Change", Kutlwano, 10, 11, 1971, pp.9-10. Mr Morake was writing in his capacity as Assistant Minister of Local Government and Lands.
2 Daily News, Supplement, 15 December 1970.

Established with the full support and authority of the Government's administrative framework, the District Development Committees now have the necessary status to ensure reasonably effective co-ordination in district planning and development. It will be remembered that the Department of Community Development had proposed just such committees five years earlier, and although it is not possible to assess the contribution of the community development experience towards these reforms, it is clear that they reflected an increased desire by Government to integrate community development with district development as a whole.

Evolution of the Scope and Structure of Community Development

We are now in a position to make some general observations about the community development programme during the five years 1965-1970. Three main aspects of the programme may be listed, not in any particular order of priority. In the first place, participation in development on the part of local communities was encouraged. Thus the community development message, through staff and the media, was "self-reliance". Self-help projects were initiated and facilitated. Village Development Committees were formed not so much in order to carry out Government's wishes, but so that local people might be enabled both to plan and execute their own improvements and also to articulate more adequately their needs to local and central government.

Secondly, co-operative and co-ordinated action was continually emphasised. The value of such an approach was in the maximum utilisation of available resources, in the reduction of conflicting aims and activities between agencies, and in the attainment of a balanced assessment of the demands of any given situation. The attempt to foster this approach was made at all levels, from village to national, and it embraced voluntary bodies as much as government departments. Its most obvious practical dimension was in establishing, or in the endeavour to

establish, committees and councils at which problems and plans could be discussed and preferably acted upon on an inter-sectoral inter-agency basis. Village Development Committees and the National Youth Council are but two examples.

In the third place, and within the ambit of the first two aspects, there were certain areas in which the Department of Community Development operated as an extension agency with its own specialist subject-content, namely adult literacy, home economics and women's work, youth work, sports and handicrafts. It may be noted that several of these activities are traceable directly back to the social welfare origins of the Department. A derogatory explanation of their being joined together in a single agency is to say that they happened to be those fields of activity which no other agency was concerned with. Whatever weight may be put on the latter interpretation, the fact remains that taken together they form much more than an agglomeration of unrelated tasks: they constitute an important sector of a social development policy. It is clear, however, that this third aspect of the programme is of a different order from the first two, and the questions raised by the association of the three together are discussed below in Chapter 9.

Considering strategy rather than organisation, it can be seen that the origins of many of the central features of community development policy as it existed in 1970 are traceable back to 1965 and even before: Village Development Committees as the basic unit in the programme; extensive coverage of CDA's working on village development; emphasis on home economics training and the development of women's position in society; orientation of youth work towards local needs, both social and economic; close association of community development with local authorities and the need for integrated district development planning;

the creation wherever possible of organisations which could operate with at least a measure of independence from Government; the use of radio as a means of adult education.

If there were substantial threads of continuity at the core of the policy, there were important changes on the surface, and for convenience we may identify four phases of development: pioneering and the generation of support; consolidation and expansion; formalisation of objectives and organisation with further expansion; administrative reform for integrated inter-sectoral development, emphasising vertical and horizontal communication.

In the first place, covering the years 1965-67, the immediate objective was to demonstrate on the ground the value of community development. There was a conceptual basis to the field experiments and the attempts to restructure the machinery for local development, but on the whole this basis, and indeed the general policy, was implicit rather than articulate: it is discernible mainly through the analysis of actual proposals, plans and activities. Ironically, though not surprisingly to those who are familiar with the working of a Government's collective 'mind', it was what we may call the 'lowest common denominator' in the programme - the achievement of physical improvements through self-help as demonstrated extensively through the food-for-work scheme - that was one of the most influential factors in winning considerably increased Government resources for community development.[1]

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1 The following figures give some idea of the increase in financial resources from 1964 to 1971:

(a) CD Pilot Project 1964-1966 (2½ year period) - R42,000

(b) Ipelegeng Programme 1966-1967 (1 year period) - R118,000

(d) Community Development 1970-1971 (1 year period) -
Capital Expenditure - R126,000
Recurrent Expenditure - R161,000

Sources for the above figures: Development Plan 1963-68; Appraisal Report on WFP Project 323; National Development Plan 1970-75.

The second phase was 1967 to 1968, when the reduction of food-for-work permitted more attention to be paid to improving the quality and efficiency of the programme. This was particularly noticeable in the spheres of women's and youth work, and in the use of the radio, though there is no evidence to indicate that the expansion of VDC's to a total of over 70 in early 1968[1] was accompanied by an equivalent increase in their quality.

In 1968, with the return of Joseph Matsheng from a course at the Rural Development College at Holte in Denmark, to become the first Motswana Commissioner of Community Development, the third phase, greater formalisation and conceptualisation, began. Before taking up office he was active in articulating his ideas, and his monograph on the conceptual basis of community development was widely distributed throughout the civil service and political leadership.[2] Many of its points were not new, but were stated with greater clarity than hitherto:

> The initial objective of the Community Development Department is to stimulate a desire for change and the improvement of the standard of living in the community. Having achieved that, the Department can give assistance in the organisation of groups in the community who are anxious to undertake projects, helping them to mobilise the resources of manpower and knowledge within the community and acting as a liaison between these community groups and external agencies....[3]

Programme objectives were made more specific:

1. The improvement of the physical amenities of villages and urban communities throughout the country through community effort;
2. the extension of basic education in literacy, health, agriculture and nutrition in order to raise the standard of living of people in rural and urban areas;

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1 Report on CD Activities for the Period September 1966-May 1968, p.2.
2 J.S. Matsheng, "Community Development in Botswana", 23 January 1968. Since it represented the first comprehensive public statement on community development policy, this paper commands considerable significance in our study and for this reason is specifically referred to in Chapter 8, pp.331-332.
3 Ibid., p.2.

3 the establishment of cottage industries and training centres wherever feasible in order to promote economic activity in the rural communities and to provide these communities with trained personnel;

4 the formation of voluntary organisations throughout the country concerned with community services, education and the development of sporting and cultural activities, through which the community development programme can be implemented.[1]

This clarification of policy and objectives was timely. As far back as 1965, the need to develop "a strong and decisive policy"[2] had been clearly recognised, but at that time there were very real checks on the speed that this could be achieved. To enunciate a national policy when field experience was strictly limited, as it was in 1965, would have been both undiplomatic and technically unsound. By 1968, however, the situation was entirely different. A considerable body of experience had been built up and, with the increased allocation of financial resources, the network of community development staff and operations had become extensive, affecting all districts in the country. An interesting indication of the position of community development at this stage, in terms of its contribution to the nation-building ethos, can be obtained from an examination of the content of the Daily News, the newsheet issued by the Information Department. A detailed analysis for the period July 1968 - August 1969 was made, the results of which are displayed in the form of a graph at Figure 10 (p.294). During this 14-month period, no less than 16% of all the items appearing in the Daily News referred to community development matters which were either part of the Department's programme, such as activities of staff, village self-help and home economics, or were directly associated with the Department's general area of res-

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1 Ibid., p.3.
2 Note on Present Position of CD Work, CDO to CD Adviser, CD 22/1 of 11 October 1965, p.7.

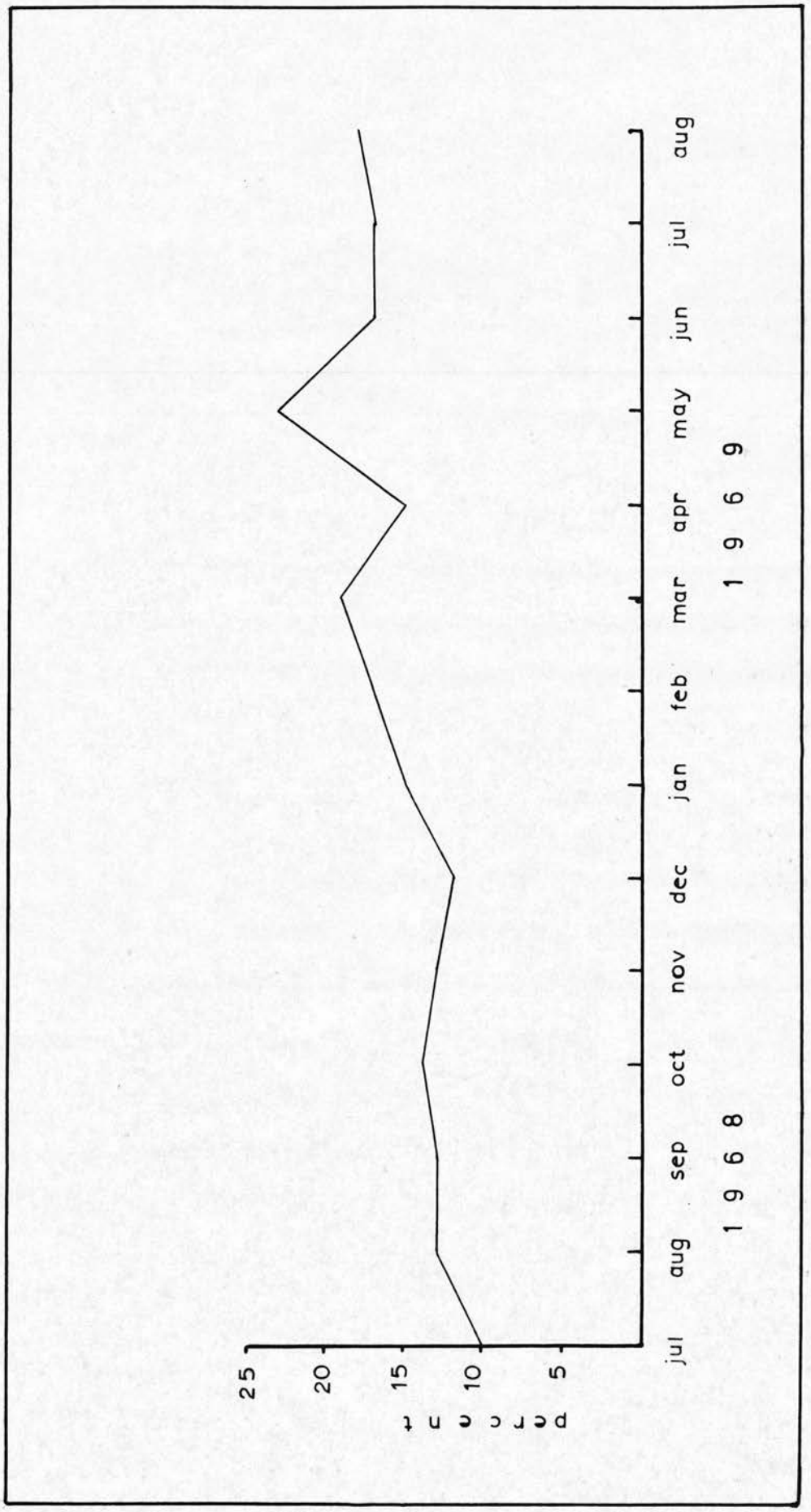

Figure 10. Community Development Items in "Botswana Daily News", July 1968–August 1969, Expressed as a Percentage of Total Number of Items.

ponsibility, such as youth movements, sports and adult education. When items related to community development in the broadest sense are included, such as co-operatives, agricultural extension, and speeches calling for self-reliance, the average figure rises to almost 20%. Two deductions may be drawn from this analysis. Firstly, community development activities evidently provided excellent material for Government's public relations-propaganda for the concept of self-reliance and nation-building, and were thus very much in the public eye. Secondly, in view of this wide publicity, the clear definition of the purposes and objectives of official policy was a functional exercise benefitting all concerned, including community development staff, government agencies, political and community leaders, local authorities and the public at large.

Apart from being a Motswana, and perhaps because he was, Matsheng differed in an important respect from his predecessors. He grasped the value of creating an awareness of and commitment to community development amongst the leading members of the ruling Democratic Party, and in particular on the part of Dr Quett Masire, the Vice-President and Minister of Development Planning, who was the main force behind the Government's development effort. Only in this way, Matsheng realised, would community development achieve its full potential in national development strategy.[1] His main concern was not to encourage these political leaders to support community development in general terms by exhorting the public towards greater self-help efforts - they were already doing this actively.[2] What was needed was the realisation on

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1 Personal communication, J.S. Matsheng, July 1968. It may be noted that the Department had acknowledged the need for a political lead as early as 1966, but had done nothing to think through the implications or take follow up action. Note for discussion on Community Development Policy, January 1966.

2 See Daily News, 1966-1968.

the part of the leadership that community development could only achieve its full potential if the structure of government machinery was favourable to it. In fact, as we have seen, suitable structural changes were finally made in 1970-1971.

In mid-1968, the Department was "reorganised", though, with one major exception, this amounted to little more than a "tidying-up" exercise accompanied by a number of detailed, and in some cases over-rigid, new specifications of operation.[1] The national structure of community development was now fairly clear, and is shown diagrammatically at Figure 11 (p.297). Immediately apparent from the diagram is the absence of district-level appointments. In the reorganisation, the curious decision was made to divide the country into four regions "for convenience and easy operations in the field".[2] Each region was to be the responsibility of an Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO), whose headquarters would be Francistown, Serowe, Molepolole and Kanye respectively. The reasons behind this arrangement appear to have been a desire to claim national coverage and an insufficient number of ACDO's to post one to each and every district. It is, however, difficult to see much advantage in a regional structure at that stage: it inevitably reduced the amount of attention which could be given to district organisation, which as we have already seen was sadly in need of assistance, and furthermore it spread the resources of the Department too thinly on the ground.[3] There is a striking parallel here with a similar strategy

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1 For example, a CDA responsible for four villages was to "stay in three villages six days and six nights during two weeks and four days and two weekends at the HQ village". Department of CD, Programme of Work April 1968 - March 1969, p.3.

2 Memorandum on Reorganisation, p.6. This division was apparently later modified to five regions, though there was some confusion about this: the Departmental Annual Report 1968 includes two tables featuring regional divisions, but the classification of regions differs between the two.

3 Both points were raised in the survey of opinions, see below, pp.336-337.

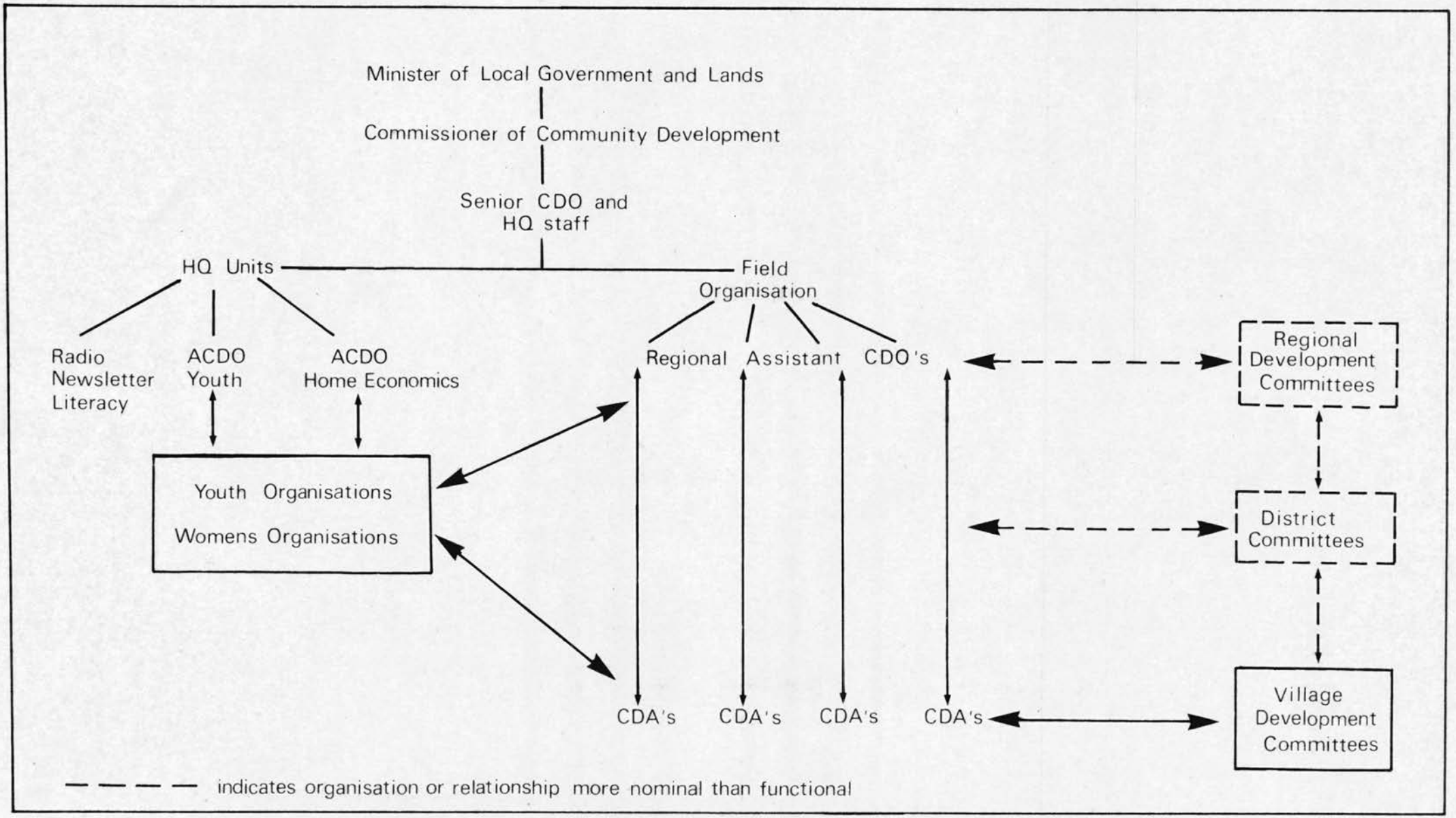

Figure 11. Organisational Structure of the Community Development Department 1968

strategy of national coverage adopted by the Scottish Council of Social Service in its distribution of Community Development Officers, who also have areas which are far too large for effective operation. The ACDO's were instructed to establish Regional Development Committees,[1] but little headway was made in this direction, which is not surprising since the decision was unilateral on the part of the Department. It is not clear whether the Ministry of Local Government actually sanctioned the arrangement: certainly there were no parallel moves in the field of local government administration. Furthermore it is remarkable that such a major structural reorganisation should have been made without consulting the Ministry of Development Planning.[2]

The fourth and most recent phase in this evolution of policy and organisation, signified by President Khama's announcement in December 1970 of the administrative reforms discussed above,[3] may be described as strategic and structural. Unfortunately, little information is available about the repercussions of these changes on the organisation of the Department in general, and it is not yet known how the new system is operating in practice. However, the significance of the reorganisation cannot be mistaken. A major innovation in community development strategy was emanating not from the Department, as had always been the case previously, nor even from the Ministry of Local Government, but from the President's Office. For the first time, instead of being, in effect if not in principle, merely a departmental responsibility, com-

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1 Memorandum on Programme of Work, April 1968 to March 1969, p.4.
2 The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Development Planning had not even heard of such committees, nor indeed of "regional organisation". Personal communication C.J.Hermans, Permanent Secretary, Development Planning, August 1968. The National Development Plan 1970-1975 also contains no reference to regional organisation.
3 See above, pp.288-289.
4 See Chapter 8 below, p.

munity development was being built firmly into the general machinery of development planning and administration. It may also be noted that the integration of local authorities with this process of development planning was an objective of the reforms. By concentrating on district level organisational changes, one of which being that District Commissioners were to assume a supervisory role for community development, the gap created by the Department's "regional" structure was at least partially filled. Regardless of whether the "regional" system continues to operate or not, the reforms will create certain anomalies, not the least being the relationship between the functions of ACDO's and District Commissioners, the resolution of which may require further important readjustments of departmental operation.

Summary

In sum, the five years up to 1970 witnessed the translation of intention into reality. This was a period of implementation and expansion, made possible by the progressive increase in resources for community development made available by Government. This increase was symptomatic of the most fundamental change over the period: the shift in the status of community development from a position where it was considered, by Government and by other departments though not by the Community Development Department itself, to be little more than a useful but not essential aspect of government activity, to one in which it became a central strand of national development strategy.

P A R T III

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER 8

ATTITUDES TO DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA

It is common knowledge that countries of the Third World are striving to achieve rapid development. There are pressing economic, political and social reasons for this choice of direction, and in so far as it represents a determination to lesson the gap between the rich and the poor, whether between nations or within the confines of an individual state, it is of course amply justified. However, it takes only a nodding acquaintance with the problems of development to discover that behind this obviously or apparently commendable policy lie deep and complex dilemmas. "Development" itself eludes satisfactory definition, and consequently begs such fundamental questions as to how far individual development is compatible with national development or whether modernisation is of itself necessarily desirable. Such issues are difficult enough to resolve in the "older", usually richer, countries, where there is a fair degree of national consolidation of valuations.[1] In the emergent, developing countries, where the heterogeneity of cultures, modes of living, and outlooks on life cover such a broad span, it is virtually impossible to approach any broad, national consensus even on such basic issues as to the relative importance which should be placed on the achievement of an improved standard of living as a motivation for behaviour.[2]

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1 The term follows the usage of Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama (London: Allen Lane, 1968), p.52 to indicate the general outlook on life of a person, based upon his beliefs, experience and scale of priorities. Myrdal has discussed the concept at length in Objectivity in Social Research (Duckworth, 1970).

2 See Myrdal (1968), op.cit., pp.52-56 for a discussion of the heterogeneity and inconsistency of valuations in Asia, especially as regards modernisation. He is firmly of the opinion that such a situation is found in most other developing countries.

Two important conclusions can be drawn from the above argument. Since development, and here we may also include community development, cannot be reduced to precise terms which are universally applicable or universally agreed, it is both logical and practical to view it within the context of a particular society at, one must add, a particular time in history. At the present time there can be little doubt that the most significant unit in this respect is the nation-state, at any rate amongst developing countries. Since the achievement of development goals depends not upon the analyses which can be made "objectively" by outside observers, but upon the support and understanding of the people responsible for achieving those goals, it is prudent to know as much as possible of the opinions and beliefs of these people. Ideally, one should cover all sections and layers of society, but this is beyond the means of most countries. Since the time of Malinowski anthropologists have provided numerous studies revealing the value systems of tribal and traditional groups, but their influence on policy formulation would appear to be diminishing rather than the reverse. Often associated with the colonial era and focussing on the local group, they do not receive much sympathy in the current climate of independence and nation-building. Whether or not this trend is regrettable is not our present concern. Its existence, however, leads us to our second conclusion: that it is particularly important at this time to know more about the beliefs and attitudes of the opinion-makers and decision-makers in the developing countries. A feature of the heterogeneity already mentioned is that the mass of the population, being poorly educated, are both ignorant and inarticulate in respect of national policies. In this situation the views and attitudes of the "elite"[1] are dominant. More specifically germane to

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1 See P.C. Lloyd, Africa in Social Change, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), pp.125-156, for a useful discussion of the term. For a fuller discourse see the book edited by Lloyd, The New Elites of Tropical Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1966).

the present study is the fact that the reality of a development policy, or indeed a community development policy, is revealed in the awareness of a relatively small body of politicians, government officials, and local leaders.

In Botswana, owing to its sparse institutional development, this characteristic is more strongly marked than in many developing countries, and is discernible in both the colonial and independent situations. In the earlier chapters of this study the view was taken that questions of attitude and understanding on the part of senior members of the Government Administration were highly influential in determining the pattern of evolution of community education, welfare and community development. We noted that until the mid-1960's the shaping of policy depended very largely upon the inclinations of individual persons holding key positions, but that from that time onwards policy became increasingly a matter of discussion and group consensus. We also noted in particular that the Batswana politicians and community leaders showed a much readier grasp of the implications of community development than did expatriate officials,[1] and that this awareness was a potent factor in strengthening the position of the community development programme. The writer decided therefore, that a meaningful way of examining the role and potential of community development at a given point in time would be to survey systematically the judgments and opinions of those people upon whose support the programme depended. Since, as we have already seen, the role of community development in Botswana has been, in the last few years, inextricably associated with the planning and administration of development generally, it was further decided that the examination should include this wider context.

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1 See above, pp.184 and 237.

Accordingly, the opportunity was taken in July 1968 to administer a questionnaire, the report on which follows. Initially, it had been hoped to complement such a survey with a study which focussed upon the detailed processes of village development, drawing upon the experience of the Indian studies,[1] but lack of time and resources prevented this.

Methodology of the Survey

The object of the enquiry was to obtain some systematic data on the views of policy-makers and officials in regard to problems of local development, and more especially the organisation of the community development programme. In order to keep the proportions of the study to manageable size, the following categories of respondent were selected: Ministers and Members of Parliament, Heads of Government Departments and Senior Ministerial Officials, District Commissioners, and lastly Chairmen of District and Town Councils, who in some cases were also Chiefs.[2] By this coverage it was hoped to assess to what extent there was agreement on development issues across a wide variety of disciplines, operations and interests. Following discussion with the Commissioner of Community Development, it was decided that in addition it would be useful to gain an insight into the awareness of community development practitioners, and accordingly a selected number of his departmental staff were also included.

The questionnaire was divided into three sections. The first

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1 L.K. Sen and P. Roy, Awareness of Community Development in Village India (Hyderabad: National Institute of Community Development, 1966). Also L.K. Sen, V.R. Gaikwad and G.L. Verma, People's Image of Community Development and Panchayati Raj (Hyderabad: National Institute of Community Development, 1967).

2 When District Councils were established in 1966, in most cases the Chief of the dominant tribe of the district was appointed ex-officio Chairman of the Council.

dealt with problems of development in general as well as with the methods and machinery involved in the implementation of programmes. The second concerned awareness and opinions of the existing community development structure and organisation. The third requested statistical information with regard to ministerial, departmental and local authority expenditure on education and training programmes. Although it was realised that a personally administered questionnaire was ideally desirable, considerations of the time as well as the distances involved precluded this and a mailed procedure was chosen. In the event, one person, the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Development Planning chose not to complete the questionnaire in written form on the grounds that he could not fit his views into its format. However, he agreed to a personal interview, and since his close experience of the Government's development efforts, together with his position as the key civil servant in these efforts, make his views particularly important, they are included below, where applicable, in the treatment of the results of the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was distributed under cover of a letter[1] which explained the nature of the study, its sponsorship, the groups to whom it was being addressed, and its potential value.[2] A separate letter was sent later to community development staff.[3] A stamped addressed envelope for reply was enclosed. The questionnaire itself was cyclostyled on foolscap paper, covering 5½ sides.[4] Pre-testing, with the

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1 See Appendix IX for a copy of the letter.

2 Useful guidance on methodology was obtained from S.P. Hayes, Evaluating Development Projects (Paris: UNESCO, 1967), especially chapter 2, pp.31-64. Help was also obtained from H.P. Yang, Fact-Finding With Rural People (Rome: FAO, 1955). The other major source of guidance, in respect of both methodology and content, was Herbert Hyman, et al, Inducing Social Change in Developing Communities (Geneva: UN Research Institute for Social Development, 1967).

3 See copy of letter at Appendix X, p.406.

4 See copy of questionnaire at Appendix XIII, p.409.

collaboration of two addressees, one being a member of the Community Development Department, led to some minor modifications. No major misunderstandings due to presentation arose. Three weeks after the first letter, a reminder was sent out.[1] In addition to rectifying a clerical error this pointed out that the questionnaire had been seen and cleared by both the Ministry of Local Government and the Department of Community Development: possibly a significant omission in the first circular, since it was gathered informally that some addressees had not responded on account of concern that the questionnaire had not been officially sanctioned. On receipt of completed questionnaires a brief acknowledgment was sent.[2]

The general approach in the first two sections was to commence with general questions proceeding to more specific ones. In some cases questions were designed to be answered by the use of check-marks to facilitate tabulation and analysis. It was found, however, that to adopt this form would in several instances have been unfairly restrictive: in such cases an open form was employed. The technique of combining closed questions requiring a "YES/NO" answer with follow-up open questions was found to be effective.[3]

In its extensive and searching international survey of expert advice on methods of achieving local development, the UN Research Institute for Social Development deemed it important to consider the totality of factors involved in implementing social change before proceeding to detailed questions about methods and conditions.[4] Similarly in the present study, although the specific focus was the role of community

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1 See copy of reminder at Appendix XI, p.407.
2 See copy of acknowledgment at Appendix XII, p.408.
3 Hayes, op.cit., pp.56-59, was particularly instructive in the drafting of question format.
4 Hyman, et.al., op.cit., p.52.

development in national development, respondents were first invited to consider development in a wider context. The advantages of this approach are in setting the specific questions in perspective, and in reducing the likelihood of individual factors being overestimated. Furthermore, an opportunity is afforded of demonstrating relationships between the general and the specific; a dimension of obvious importance in considering a topic such as community development with its emphasis on co-operation, co-ordination and relationships.

The collection of data took place during July and August 1968 in Botswana. Although the questionnaire was not designed for computerisation it was subsequently decided to process the results at the Edinburgh Regional Computing Centre and accordingly the questionnaire was post-coded. This presented no difficulties in the case of closed questions, but the categorisation of replies to open-ended questions inevitably involved some reduction of the meaning of individual responses. To counteract this tendency significant answers and comments are reported individually. The computer analysis used the SPSS system.[1]

Results and Analysis

From the 120 people who received questionnaires 50 completed forms were returned,[2] representing a response rate of 41.6% which, whilst by no means high, compares favourably with Yang's figure of 10-20% for questionnaires mailed to the public. Although this response did not justify the attachment of much statistical importance *per se* to the

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1 See Norman H. Nie, Dale H. Bent, and C.H. Hull, *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970).

2 Of the non-respondents, one wrote to say that he refused to answer the questionnaire on the grounds that he objected to some of the questions. He did not elaborate further.

results, it was deemed adequate for the indication of tendencies, trends and patterns, and hence the survey is considered to have been a very useful exercise.

Of the respondents, 24 were Batswana and 26 Non-Batswana. In fact, one white person was included in the latter category who had lived all his life in the country but had not applied for citizenship. It can be seen, therefore, that the total response was evenly balanced between nationals and expatriates. Geographical distribution was also evenly divided between town and country: 24 respondents lived in Gaborone, 3 in Lobatse or Francistown, and the remaining 23 in rural areas. The occupational categories are shown in Table 3, indicating that the largest response was from community development staff, closely followed by Members of National Assembly. However, both of these reflect a response rate relative to the numbers addressed of some 30-35%, significantly less than that of District Commissioners, 8 of whom responded out of a total of 11 addressed, a rate of over 70% and by far the highest of any category. It is reasonable to suppose that the subject of the survey interested them and appeared relevant to their occupational roles, though it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions.[1] The much lower response from Community Development (CD) staff calls for comment, since a priori they could be expected to have the closest interest. The explanation is probably found in the disparity between the limited and mostly practical experience of the CD staff on the one hand, and the nature of the questions, general and

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1 Though the active response of district administration staff in African territories to mass education-community development in the 1940's and 1950's is recalled. See above, p. 86. Support is also given, by this response, to the view that the 1970 reforms bringing DC's into the mainstream of development planning and administration, will prove to be highly functional.

largely concerning policy, on the other. The lesson to be drawn from this is that a questionnaire needs to be carefully adapted to the particular conditions of the informants, and obviously in the present case too wide a coverage in terms of interests and levels of responsibility and experience was attempted. Also raised here is the need to make a clear distinction between "doing" community development as a professional occupation (as in the case of Community Development Assistants) and community development as a feature of national development policy.[1]

Table 3

Occupational Categories of Respondents

	No	%
Ministers	3	6
Members of National Assembly (MP's)	10	20
Permanent Secretaries	2	4
Heads of Departments	5	10
Senior Officials	8	16
District Commissioners (DC's)	8	16
Chiefs	1	2
Council Chairmen	2	4
CD Staff	11	22
	50	100

The very poor response from Chiefs and Council Chairmen (3 out of 12)[2] may be considered as lending support to the views of those who felt that local authorities were generally not ready for the task of modernisation and administration entrusted to them. On the other hand, it

1 This is discussed in the concluding chapter. See below, p.384 ff.
2 Only those Chiefs who were also Council Chairmen were addressed.

could be interpreted as indicating the gap between "modern" thought-processes (as exemplified by the questionnaire as a means of communication) and those of local citizens. In the latter interpretation, the implication is that greater attention should be given at the national level to such problems of communication. The representation of tribal authorities per se on the District Development Committees announced at the end of 1970[1] may reflect this attention.[2]

Factors Aiding or Hindering Development

The opening of the survey deliberately followed the approach adopted in the UN international survey of experts' advice already mentioned.[3] This approach applied to the first three questions, in which the judgment of the informants was sought concerning the factors that could be important determinants in effective development. Although on first sight these three questions appear very similar to each other, they were included for the purpose of viewing the problems of development from rather different, if interrelated, angles. The responses are therefore of interest both when each of the questions is considered separately and also when they are considered collectively.

In the opening question an invitation was given to name from an "undefined, theoretically limitless universe of factors"[4] what were judged to be the most important problems hindering the progress of the informant's organisation or area. For Ministers, Permanent Secretaries and senior ministerial officials the unit referred to was their Ministry; for Heads of Departments, senior departmental officials and headquarters

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1 See above, p.287 ff.
2 Some answers to questions in the survey also show an awareness of the issue. See below, p.309.
3 Hyman, op.cit., p.52 ff.
4 Ibid.

CD staff, their Department; for District Commissioners and Council Chairmen, the District or Town; and for CD field staff, their working area. Since MP's were not concerned with operational units as such, they were not required to answer this question. A maximum of three problems could be mentioned. The varied answers to this open-ended question were reduced to ten categories, and the results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Informants' judgments as to what are the most important problems hindering the work of their agencies

	Times Mentioned
Agency Factors:	56
Weaknesses in policy and administration	11
Insufficient quality and quantity of staff	32
Inadequate finance	13
Conditions:	46
Deficiencies of educational system	5
Attitudinal conditions of population	9
Poor local leadership	6
Traditional social structure	4
Inability of groups to co-operate	4
Inadequate institutional infrastructure	14
Other	4
Total responses	102

An open-ended question such as this has the advantage of encouraging free and spontaneous thought about the problems. It is less valuable, of course, for making detailed comparisons between individual factors, since the range of factors in each informant's mind will vary considerably. Nevertheless it is significant that noticeably more

weight was given to agency factors than to general conditions (56 to 46 mentions). If this judgment is correct, then it provides a hopeful sign that considerable improvement in the effectiveness of development is possible, since agency factors are clearly more controllable than general conditions. Such an assumption is supported by the judgment of the UN experts in response to a similar question: 75% of the foreign experts and 82% of the national experts rated agency factors as the most important.[1]

The most striking feature of the response is the weight given to staff problems: approximately one-third of responses mentioned this, more than twice the frequency of any other single factor. Most of these emphasised quality, rather than quantity, of staff as the more important problem, though there was a tendency for quality to be more commonly voiced by expatriates than by nationals, who dwelt on the shortage. A senior expatriate official in the Ministry of Agriculture mentioned the "lack of well trained officers in the lower to middle echelons of the extension cadre". Another informant involved in agriculture agreed with this diagnosis, pointing out that this lack meant that the Department was so overloaded administratively as to be unable to accept further grants to develop its work. On the other hand one informant emphasised the problem in the Police of the retention of senior expatriate officers who "cannot and will not adjust themselves to the needs of a newly developing state". Comments from other informants indicated a similar lack of adjustment by expatriates in at least one other Ministry. A problem in the health field was that

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1 Hyman, op.cit., Table 13, p.55.

> no local authorities have health staff so Medical Department staff do their work and cannot concentrate on environmental sanitation, health education, etc., in the rural areas.

In short, the most common response in this category can be summed up as "a shortage of trained manpower". Such a situation, of course, cannot be easily or quickly rectified, since it is itself a by-product of the educational system.

Well behind staff problems, but receiving roughly similar weighting between themselves, were: weaknesses in policy and administration; shortage of funds; and a poorly developed infrastructure. The latter included poor communications, few modern institutions at the local level, general lack of efficient supporting services, poorly developed marketing systems, insufficient wage-earning employment, and lack of information and data for accurate planning: in short, the state of underdevelopment itself was seen as a hindrance to development.

As might have been expected, CD field staff included an above average number of "conditions" factors, particularly in regard to local leadership, lack of co-operation and public attitudes generally. Thus one senior CDA: "people haven't yet understood how as villagers they can overcome their problems if they work towards one goal".

In order to obtain a more systematic comparison between individual factors, informants were then asked to give priority ratings, from a specified list, for the three most important factors making for effective development projects. Unlike the previous question, this was not directed specifically towards the work of informants' own agencies but was designed to elicit their views on development processes in general. Whilst the majority gave their ratings without comment, one respondent specifically limited his assessment to co-operative development - his own field of activity. The eight factors chosen followed closely those

used in the UN survey,[1] and the results are shown in Table 5.

Table 5

Informants' judgments as to which of certain specified factors are the three most important for effective development projects

	PERCENT			
	Most Important	Second Most Important	Third Most Important	Aggregate*
Project Factors:	78	92	80	—
Quality of the staff	28	26	12	66
Prior planning	30	26	18	74
Knowledge of local situation	12	14	10	36
Technical, financial resources	8	16	30	54
Methods that increase local co-operation	0	10	10	20
Conditions:	18	4	16	—
Attitudes of local population	14	4	8	26
Social structure of communities	0	0	0	0
Natural Resources	4	0	8	12
No response	4	4	4	—
	100	100	100	

* Since this column combines the responses from all three choices, it does not total 100%.

Once again "project" factors heavily outweighed "conditions" factors, almost totally in the case of the second choice. Prior planning emerged most commonly as the most important factor (almost one-third of informants placed this first), followed closely by quality of the staff. However, to obtain a balanced assessment of these results it should be noted that no single factor was perceived by all informants,

1 Hyman, op.cit., Table 13, p.55.

indeed not by even half of them, as the most vital. In the choice of the second most important factor, staff and planning maintained their leading positions, whilst technical and financial resources scored highest as the third most important factor.

The aggregate figures, representing the percentage mention as either first or second or third most important, confirm strongly the picture already gained, and may be considered a more reliable guide to the general pattern of informants' judgments than the individual priority ratings. If one assumes that it is very difficult for anyone to decide which of two essential factors is the more important, then this view is strengthened. It is also supported by one respondent, who, after dutifully giving his order of priority, commented that the exercise was "rather like being asked to name the most important ingredient in a Christmas pudding".

What emerges clearly from both of the first two questions is that the overwhelming majority of informants, and it should be remembered that every one of them had an extremely important, often influential, role in the development effort, give great weight to the manner in which development programmes are managed. However, since project factors, as opposed to general conditions, are given noticeably less weight when discussed in terms of existing operational deficiences (Table 4) than when considered in principle (Table 5), there is implied a measure of satisfaction with the way in which development was being implemented in Botswana. Put another way, the implication is that although programme factors must always be given careful attention, nevertheless experience at the time indicated that general conditions had been significant in impeding progress.

Local Conditions

However well planned, staffed and administered a development pro-

gramme or project may be, there are inevitably features of the local environment, the prevailing social, economic and political conditions, which either contribute to or detract from the programme's progress. Table 6 shows how the informants assessed the "hindrance-value" of certain conditions.

Table 6

Informants' opinions as to which of certain specified local conditions are the greatest and least hindrance to successful implementation of development projects

	TIMES MENTIONED								
	Greatest Hindrance 1st (Col.A)		Greatest Hindrance 2nd (Col.B)		Least Hindrance 1st (Col.C)		Least Hindrance 2nd (Col.D)		Hindrance* Index
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%
Conditions									
Traditional practices and customs	13	26	5	10	7	14	4	8	+14
Low level of general education	8	16	10	20	15	30	3	6	0
Absence of progressive leadership	18	36	9	18	2	4	3	6	+44
Lack of co-ordination amongst agencies	4	8	7	14	5	10	8	16	-4
Contentment of local population	0	0	1	2	5	10	5	10	-18
Belief by local population that they cannot improve	0	0	0	0	2	4	10	20	-24
Inadequate natural resources	0	0	5	10	1	2	4	8	0
Internal conflict amongst villagers	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	4	0
System of land ownership	2	4	4	8	5	10	1	2	0
District of government officers	1	2	3	6	2	4	4	8	0
Don't know, no response	2	4	4	8	4	8	6	12	-
	50		50		50		50		

* Obtained by subtracting the sum of Columns C + D from the sum of Columns A + B: a plus (+) sign indicates a "greatest hindrance" weighting, a minus (-) sign a "least hindrance" weighting.

This question provoked an interesting response. Consider first the greatest and least columns (A and C). In the former one-third of respondents thought absence of progressive leadership was the greatest hindrance, whilst between one-quarter and one-third rated the low level of general education as the least hindrance. On the basis of these assessments there is at least a *prima facie* case for suggesting that the lack of leadership is not a product of the level of general education.

On three factors, there was complete unanimity in one respect: no one considered that local contentment, local beliefs concerning improvements, or inadequate natural resources was the greatest hindrance. Few, and in the case of local beliefs none, thought that any one of these was the second greatest hindrance. Every other factor, however, was nominated at least once as either the greatest or least hindrance. Clearly, therefore, although respondents felt quite able to make judgments (nil response rate over the whole question totalled only 8%), there was a good deal of diversity and disagreement amongst them. Obviously respondents' experiences differed, and it is difficult in most of these cases to attach great importance to any one of these factors on any general basis, especially where the same factor was "cancelled out" by receiving equal mention as both the greatest and the least hindrance.

The general conclusion from the analysis of the first four columns of Table 6 must therefore be that it would be injudicious either to concentrate wholly, or conversely to ignore entirely, any of the local conditions listed. In order to identify those factors about which opinions differ least, thus eliminating the contradictory claims of the first four columns, a "hindrance index" was compiled, which shows the difference in frequency of mention between the two greatest hindrances on the one hand and the two least hindrances on the other. For

the purposes of this index we need not attach much attention to nil scores or to very low numbers since this indicates a high degree of "cancelling out". However, four factors have a score of over 10. The +44 accorded to the leadership factor reveals this on aggregate as the most important obstacle acknowledged by the respondents. The logical implication is that a great deal of care and attention should be devoted by the Botswana authorities, and other agencies concerned with development, to programmes designed to improve and spread leadership skills and abilities.[1] Such a strategy will involve a combination of general adult education activities, training in organisation and management, and increased opportunities for latent abilities to be shown by means of participation in modern local institutions. The CD Department obviously must work out with great care its role in this regard. The development of progressive leadership is not, of course, either a very rapid or a very simple process.

It is interesting that 'attitudinal conditions' of the local population emerge distinctly as those factors least likely to hinder development (-18 for contentment, and -24 for the belief that they cannot improve). This is somewhat surprising since one might have expected to find a positive correlation between these conditions and the lack of progressive leadership. One explanation here is that respondents have conceived an exaggerated distinction between these two aspects, not appreciating that they do in fact dovetail into each other. The practi-

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1 It is not implied here that leadership skills can be imparted as a neat "package", but rather that efforts should be made to assist existing and potential community leaders to view their own communities in the light of external relationships and the new needs which these relationships impose. See R.P. Lynton, The Tide of Learning: The Aloka Experience (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960).

cal implication is that more detailed studies of the triangular relationship between general attitudes of the public, the role of local leaders, and development progress are needed.

Co-ordination and Participation

The next two questions were concerned with co-ordination. It is commonly recognised that lack of co-ordination between various development agencies, both statutory and voluntary, is often a significant obstacle to progress.[1] Table 7 reflects the informants' judgments as to the adequacy of machinery for integrated planning and execution, at various levels.

Table 7

Informants' assessment of the adequacy of machinery for integrated planning and execution of development programmes

	National level	District level	Village level
Adequate	44 %	28 %	26 %
Inadequate	44	50	52
Don't Know	6	10	8
No response	6	12	14
	100	100	100

This response can be summed up fairly briefly. At none of the three levels referred to was there a majority contending that integration was adequate. The situation was considered least unsatisfactory at national level where the opinions were equally divided. Nevertheless even here 44% of the sample were dissatisfied, representing 22 people closely involved with the development process: quite a substantial number in

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1 See, for example, UN, Handbook of Public Administration (New York, 1961)

Botswana's situation. At district and village level little more than one-quarter of the respondents thought co-ordination arrangements were adequate, whilst in both cases at least one-half were dissatisfied. The percentage of those who were undecided or failed to respond was noticeably higher at these two levels than at national level, reflecting perhaps the high proportion of the sample (50%) who were based in the national capital, many with little direct experience or knowledge of district and village level administration.

In order to elicit some information as to the nature of the inadequacies, if any, respondents were asked in an open-ended question to make suggestions for better co-ordination. Nil response rates to the question were high, since few if any of those who rated the machinery as adequate made any suggestions. Nevertheless 20 out of the 22 who believed the situation to be unsatisfactory at national level, and 22 of the 25 at district level, did in fact make at least one suggestion for improvement, indicating that an "inadequate" verdict was based on reasoned analysis rather than whim or feeling. The suggestions could be conveniently grouped into seven categories, and the pattern is illustrated in Table 8, (p.320).

At all levels, the first suggestions indicated that the main concern was with the process of horizontal communication and integration. One Minister emphasised the need for comparison of plans leading to integration of activities between the Departments of Education, Agriculture, Medical Services and Community Development. A senior ministerial official, who was well acquainted with administration in the field, noted that greater attention should be paid to deliberate efforts "to ensure that traditional authorities, local councillors and officials are all put fully in the picture and kept in it; and their active co-operation and support sought whenever possible".[1] Several people wanted

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1 This proposal was in fact met by the 1970 reforms. See above, p.288.

Table 8

Informants' suggestions for improved co-ordination*

	National Level		District Level		Village Level	
	1st sug	2nd sug	1st sug	2nd sug	1st sug	2nd sug
Greater direction and discipline	15%+	—	18%	—	7%	—
More horizontal consultation, information and liaison	45	17	50	13	40	—
More vertical consultation, information and liaison	15	33	9	50	7	33
Changed attitudes of those involved in development	15	17	14	—	13	—
Expansion and upgrading of services	5	17	9	25	7	33
Village level organisation and training	—	—	—	—	20	33
Other	5	17	—	13	7	—

* Since figures in this and in other subsequent tables are rounded to nearest decimal point they do not always total exactly 100%.

+ Percentages in this table are given as Adjusted Frequency to demonstrate weightings between suggestions.

interdepartmental committees established particularly at Head of Department level and at District level.[1] It was felt that this would help to ensure that policy and plans were discussed on an inter-disciplinary, problem-solving basis: it was not sufficient to merely leave it open to Directors or district level officers to consult with their counterparts in other departments if they felt inclined to do so, which was the current practice. Others put less faith in the establishment of such machinery, pointing out that it is the way machinery is used that determines effectiveness. Thus, referring to national level meetings, a senior official in the Medical Services Department noted that "too much relevant information is considered confidential and not given out to other departments". A more specific and considerably stronger comment regarding attitudes came from a DC: "there are obviously efforts by jealous ministries to undermine the work of the Ministry of Development Planning". A similar view was echoed by an agriculturist's suggestion to "reorientate Permanent Secretaries and senior staff away from empire building to nation-building".

A perceptive comment came from a senior information official who wanted the Ministry of Development Planning to have an executive instead of its existing advisory role, a view strongly held by Professor Arthur Lewis.[2] Another aspect of this desire for firmer direction from the centre was expressed by a DC, who was in fact the only Motswana DC answering the questionnaire. Complaining that grants from central government produced dependence amongst local authorities, he went on: "Central government staff should be in a position to be nosy about district developments". In related vein, a Permanent Secretary:

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1 Both of these suggestions had been made several years earlier. See above, p.284 ff.
2 W.A. Lewis, Development Planning (London: Allen and Unwin, 1966), p.244 ff.

> At district and village level a much higher standard o is required of local government officers. In my view the machinery of local government is too democratic and there is not sufficient direct intervention by central government.

The concern that there was insufficient authority exerted in pulling together various agencies involved in development was expressed several times in relation to the role of the District Administration, and not only by members of that branch of the service. An expatriate administrator, who had had many years experience in another former British African territory, was very outspoken. If, he said, a senior administrator was appointed at national level with authority over the DC's, this would result in

> the DC's becoming some use - at present they are none - and co-ordination problems would disappear (the problem is discipline not co-ordination).

In the point it was making, though not in its mode of expression, this opinion was supported by several others, agriculturalists being particularly noticeable in this group. And experience in post-independence India, Kenya and Tanzania, to take three examples, has shown that co-ordination at each level of operation requires not only suitable organisational machinery, but some investment of authority in a person who has specific responsibility for achieving that co-ordination.[1]

At this point it is relevant to note that responses by village level community development staff to several questions indicated frustration at the lack of assistance, encouragement and understanding they were receiving at district level. Apart from the particular significance of this for CD organisation, it illustrates in a practical manner a general concern implicit in the comments in the preceding paragraphs:

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1 It is evident from these comments and opinions that the reforms of 1970 met a felt need on the part of administrators and technical officers.

namely that the district was not seen as a meaningful unit of development administration.[1] The explanation for this situation can be sought partly in the tradition of "indirect rule" whereby Chiefs and tribal administrators were allowed a considerable degree of antonomy.[2] When tribal administrations were superseded by modern-type local councils in 1966, the same tradition was evident in the policy that the DC's role was to be of a purely advisory nature. Further explanation is found in the concept, commonly held by senior headquarters officials throughout most of the 1960's, and no doubt engendered by comparisons with much larger more complex African countries, that Botswana was in terms of population and institutional development, no more than a "province". This kind of thinking tended to concentrate planning and policy making at national headquarters to the detriment of the development of the district as a unit of modern administration. It was not until 1970 that administrative reforms were introduced to give the DC a more effective role in development, and to strengthen the development administration structure at district level.[3]

Community development philosophy commonly emphasises the need to consult local people in the preparation of development programmes,[4] and failure to do this usually has an adverse effect on implementation. Respondents were asked whether they did in fact attempt to include local opinion in preparing their plans. Of the 40 to whom the question applied,[5] four failed to respond, none replied negatively, and the remaining 36 affirmed that they did make the attempt. Awareness, at

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1 This is discussed in Chapter 7, p. 283 above.
2 See Introduction, pp. 24-25 above for a discussion of this point.
3 As described above, p. 287 ff.
4 See for example, UN, Local Participation in Development Planning (New York, 1967).
5 It was not applicable to MP's.

least, of the need for this type of consultation was practically universal, a basically encouraging situation. Methods of eliciting public opinion included: listening to the comments of MP's; having contacts with non-official bodies such as Farmers Associations, Youth Clubs, and Parent-Teacher Associations; referring matters to committees of local councils. Three general categories of response were descernible:

1 those mentioning the holding of consultations "where appropriate",

2 those pointing out the existence of committees and organisations to which matters were referred,

and

3 those showing some awareness of

(a) the concept of "planning from below", and

(b) the possibility that plans could evolve in response to local initiative or demand.

The most interesting type, the third, were few in number and were limited to community development staff, a co-operative development official, one DC and one agriculturist.

The final question in the general development section was concerned with opinions about the level of participation by villagers in local development. The results appear in Table 9.

Table 9

Informants' opinions as to whether village level participation in local development efforts and local planning was inadequate, adequate or too great.

	Village level participation is considered to be:		
	Inadequate	Adequate	Too Great
Local development efforts	67% *	28%	5%
Local planning	79	21	-

(* Adjusted frequency)

In the case of implementation of development efforts, two-thirds of the respondents considered village level participation to be inadequate, whilst almost four-fifths found participation in planning to be insufficient. These results may be fairly safely interpreted to mean that there was a widespread realisation that human resources were not being used effectively at village level. There is also the implicit recognition that villages should not only be involved in the planning process, but should have a constructive role to play in it. Only two people considered participation in development to be too great, and both of these were community development field staff. Whether they were expressing the view that too much was expected of villagers, or whether they felt that villagers should not be permitted to participate so much is not clear from their answers. The nature of their work and training might be expected to give them particular sympathy with villagers, suggesting that the first interpretation is the more accurate.

Awareness of and Attitudes to Community Development

The essence of community development is summed up in the phrase "popular participation". It is this emphasis which distinguishes it most fundamentally from other approaches to development. Consequently it follows that a community development policy only has meaning and significance to the extent that it reflects people's attitudes and understanding. More than any other Department of Government a CD Department is affected by, and in fact depends upon, the views and involvement of both national and local leadership. The exact nature of community development is not easy to define - some contend it is impossible - and consequently people may use the term to mean very different things. Whilst not purporting to represent a searching analysis, Table 10 gives some indication as to the facets of community development uppermost in the minds of respondents. The open-ended question asked them what was

their understanding of the term "community development", and the various replies were coded into the categories shown in the table.

Table 10

Respondents' understanding of the term "community development"

	Percentages according to number of features mentioned					
	1st Feature	2nd Feature	3rd Feature	4th Feature	5th Feature	Aggregate*
Collective effort	64%	0%	0%	0%	0%	64%
Voluntary association for mutual benefit	6	24	2	0	0	32
Self-reliance local initiative and decision-making	8	18	12	0	0	38
Developing local leadership	0	2	0	2	0	4
Changing attitudes	4	6	2	0	4	16
Socio-economic development	6	30	18	4	0	58
Nation-building	0	0	2	4	2	8
Other	2	0	4	6	4	16
No response	10	20	60	84	90	—
	100	100	100	100	100	

* This column represents, in effect, a multiple response, and therefore it does not total 100.

Most respondents mentioned two features, 40% mentioned a third, and only a small minority included four or five features. The distribution of responses between the categories is therefore mainly of interest only in the first two columns, and to a lesser degree the third column. The significance of columns 4 and 5 is only in demonstrating that the overwhelming majority did not have any sophisticated understanding of community development. It is perhaps not surprising that the feature coming first to the minds of almost two-thirds of respondents was collec-

tive effort; it had certainly been the most obvious characteristic of village level community development, particularly of the Ipelegeng programme. This public image, comparable with that in many a developing country, is nevertheless one that community development pundits and apologists are often anxious to play down, wishing to emphasise its more intangible, even spiritual qualities.[1] We may include in this latter category voluntary association, self-reliance, local leadership development, and changed attitudes, which when taken collectively are mentioned by almost half the sample as the second characteristic. It may be said, therefore, that there was considerable awareness that the concept of community development was concerned with qualitive and personal change. It is interesting that although socio-economic development receives a low score in the first column, yet almost half the respondents put it as a second or third feature (altogether 58% mentioned it at some point). We may reasonably interpret these distributions as follows. Whereas a substantial majority immediately thought of what we may describe as a process, method, technique or tactic for achieving change, namely collective effort, this was subsequently associated with the objectives towards which this effort was being directed, namely socio-economic development.

Before leaving Table 10, we should note some low scores. Development of local leadership received little mention: perhaps surprising when it is remembered that Table 6 showed absence of progressive local leadership as the greatest factor hindering development. The immediate conclusion here is that community development was not seen as being

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1 See, for example, S.N. Bhattacharyya, Community Development: An Analysis of the Programme in India (Calcutta: Academic Publishers, 1970).

particularly relevant to removal of this obstacle, but Tables 11 and 12 need to be taken into account to obtain a balanced judgment.[1] Nation-building likewise scores very low: although community development was strongly associated with local development through local effort, this was not apparently seen in its wider, namely national, context.

This attempt to discover the respondents' concepts of community development was followed by a direct closed question asking whether they thought community development had an important role to play in the present and future development of Botswana. They thought so very definitely, 49 answering in the affirmative, only one in the negative. This almost unanimous support did not necessarily indicate support for what was being done by the Department of Community Development, however, for the next question showed that 14 respondents, or 28%, did not know what the Department's main aims and objectives were. Those who claimed they knew were asked in an open-ended questions what they thought they were. This question would probably have been more effective had the respondents been asked to choose from a given list: this would have avoided vague answers and the repetition of answers already given to the general question about community development, and also reduced the unwieldy number of answers falling in the 'other' category (Table 11). Coding attempted to follow the format used for Table 10 but some changes had to be made to render the categories more representative of the actual answers given.

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1 See pp. 329 and 333 below.

Table 11

Informants' knowledge of the main aims and objectives of the Department of CD

Aims	No of times Mentioned	Adjusted Frequency %
Organise community self-help	15	
Develop voluntary associations	7	
Develop local self-reliance	12	
Develop local leadership	1	
Change people's attitudes	16	
Achieve social and economic improvements	9	
Link local with national efforts	4	
Organise Village Development Committees	4	
Other	14	

It might be expected that the pattern of response would merely be a duplication of Table 10. In fact, however, although one or two informants referred to their previous answers, the general distribution indicates a fair degree of discernment. For example, nearly half of those answering indicated an awareness that the Department's programme was concerned with changing people's attitudes, though this had not appeared as important in the general conceptualisation of community development. On the other hand, considerably less importance was attached to the achievement of social and economic improvements than occurred in the general question. There was a greater correlation in the high score given to the organisation of community self-help, which may be equated with collective effort in the earlier question. At the other end of the scale, the development of local leadership received only one mention, a result that confirms the need for careful examination of this aspect by the Department, since this objective, in common with most

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1 See article, p.

community development programmes, is an essential part of its platform, and incidentally one of the few features of community development on which there is widespread agreement. As in the previous question there was little evidence to show that the Department's local efforts were seen as being linked to a national strategy or process of nation-building.

To establish respondents' views on the relationship between community development as a general process in Botswana on the one hand, and the work of the Department on the other, they were asked "Do you consider that community development in Botswana is (a) solely the responsibility of the Department of Community Development, or (b) the concern of all development agencies?". The 92% response in favour of the latter interpretation could be considered a measure of vindication of the Department's policy of working with other government departments, with local authorities, village committees and voluntary groups, emphasising the need for this co-operation as essential in the holistic approach to development to which it was committed. Of the three people who considered the Department alone to be responsible, one was a member of the Department, another the Director of another department, and the third a Minister, who qualified his judgment by adding that this responsibility should be exercised in co-operation with other departments. One DC, very perceptively (in fact reading into the question more than the researcher intended) agreed with both the "alternatives", pointing out that community development "is the <u>responsibility</u> of that Department, otherwise why does it exist at all, but /it/ is also the <u>concern</u> of all development agencies".[1]

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1 See Chapter 7, pp. 298 - 299 where this point was mentioned in a slightly different context.

In early 1968, Mr Joseph Matsheng, subsequently Commissioner of Community Development, wrote a paper on "Community Development in Botswana" which was in effect a general manifesto for community development, outlining in particular what the Department was already doing and was proposing to do.[1] From the Department's point of view it was essential reading if the new approach and policy was to be understood, and consequently, it was given very wide distribution, including all whom the Department considered should be concerned. Yet only 22 people claimed to have read it, with 28 (56%) not having done so. One of the latter group was the Broadcasting Officer who pointed out that he had not received a copy: obviously there were serious gaps in the Department's communications network. MP's were largely unaware of the paper: only 3 out of 10 had read it. This was particularly unfortunate, since as formers of public opinion it is very important that they are armed with facts and authoritative information. Most surprisingly, only 4 out of the 11 community development staff had read it. Perhaps it was withheld from junior staff deliberately as being too sophisticated, and hence confusing: even a senior DC had thought it rather "indigestible". If these junior staff were not being informed adequately of the overall government and departmental policy in community development, they would be unlikely to see their own efforts in context, and be unable to link them with wider processes.

Of the 22 who had read the paper, 14 thought it relevant to their work or area of concern. Its message appeared very useful to some:

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1 See above Chapter 7, p.292 for details.

> It is very relevant because with our very limited resources, rural health sources will have to be developed by the people themselves. (Director of Medical Services)
>
> It charts a course for setting up autonomous development bodies (eg. VDC's, Thrift and Loan Societies, Youth Groups) at a simple, local level. This may overcome the tendency of small communities to see their only hope collectively in begging help from government. (a DC)

Some were rather more cautious:

> the ideal is terrific, and one cannot argue with it. It is the practical application of the "ideal" which creates the problem. One cannot go faster than the speed of acceptance in the minds of the people. (A DC)
>
> It makes a wide set of goals. Thus far in this District it has not had any impact. (DC Maun)

A very limited interpretation was accorded, surprisingly and discouragingly, by the Government Training Officer who considered the relevance of the paper limited because "we have training facilities to offer". Complete scepticism was voiced by an expatriate member of the Department itself: "Propaganda". A Motswana community development worker considered it had no relevance to her work in an urban area, where social problems could only be solved by professional social workers.

The next five questions moved on to what respondents thought the Department should be doing. To keep the answers precise rather than general a selection of activities was presented and respondents asked to name the five most important. Respondents were deliberately limited in their selection since it was desired to obtain some priority distinctions between the 14 activities listed. This limitation was also prompted by the awareness that a contributory factor to the difficulties of village level community development, particularly those of inefficient operation and lack of clarity of objectives, is often the multifarious activities the CDA is supposed to perform.[1] However desirable each of the 14

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1 See above, p.279

activities may appear to be, it is self-evident that a CDA cannot be master of all of them: for practical purposes, then, a selective approach has to be adopted. In the case of the present survey, it was subsequently realised that the method of limitation imposed was by no means satisfactory. In the first place, to limit choice to five items was rather arbitrary, and furthermore the question did not allow for such variables as staff and programme specialisation, or the effect of time in a phased development strategy. However, in so far as the main grass-roots work of the Department was implemented through non-specialist CDA's, and facilities did not exist for any sophisticated phasing of their training according to local conditions, the question provides for a reasonably realistic indicator of the sample's opinions. (Table 12)

Table 12

Informants' opinions as to which of certain specified village level activities are the most important for the Department of CD to undertake

Activity	Percentage of respondents mentioning the activity*
Local fact finding	44%
Village Development Committees	66
Youth activities	50
Women's activities	44
Self-help projects	80
Leadership training	42
Other village training courses	20
Village co-operatives	22
Assisting Supplementary feeding	4
Assisting school feeding	2
Adult literacy	28
Cottage industries	24
Assisting extension programmes of other departments	24
Assisting with local tax collection	4

* Since multiple responses were allowed, these do not add up to 100.

The dilemma in the selection of village level activities is well

illustrated by this response. Only 3 of the 14 items received scant support: tax collection was included as a "bait" and caught one Chief and one CDA; and the two feeding activities were those necessary for the implementation of the WFP food-aid schemes. These three were the only items which could not normally be included in any conceptualisation of community development programme, and it is interesting and encouraging that the pattern of responses clearly reflects an awareness of this.

All other activities received a fair measure of support. As listed, self-help projects emerged as the most desired type of activity, being mentioned by four-fifths of the respondents, followed by VDC's mentioned by two-thirds, and youth activities mentioned by one-half. If a high standard of efficiency is to be maintained, these three activities alone could fully engage the time and energy of a CDA. But this would exclude fact-finding, women's activities and leadership training which each received over 40% support. But even if these are included, there are other valuable functions left out, such as the promotion of co-operatives, literacy and cottage industries. The problem is a real one. The question highlights the impracticability of having a long list of activities which CDA's are supposed to conduct, and suggests a choice for community development policy-makers. If they are going to concentrate on their own "extension" programmes, with their own specialised content, such as youth, women's activities, or adult literacy, then the number of these activities must be few, in order that staff may acquire adequate skills in them. Consider, for example, the comparative expertise of an Agricultural Demonstrator, who is on the same government scale as the CDA and probably has an equivalent basic education: he has received three years specialised training in <u>one</u> field, as compared with the CDA who is required to operate in several fields, with at maximum a one-year training and in several cases no training at

all. If on the other hand, the Department intends to be involved with a wide spread of "subject" areas, for example youth, women, health, agriculture, schools, then it must limit itself to developing expertise in certain "service" skills, such as the organisation of community groups, fact-finding, group discussion, and the stimulation of an awareness of problems and development potential. Without resources considerably in excess of those commanded by most developing countries, and Botswana is one of the poorer, it is not possible to adopt both approaches with any high degree of competence. Compromises may be satisfactory if recognised for what they are, but this is usually not the case.[1]

The respondents were next asked directly whether they thought the Department was concentrating on the most suitable fields of activity. Considering that it was a sensitive and possibly awkward question, it might have been expected that a high proportion would avoid giving an opinion. In fact, 12 took this course, either failing to respond or giving a "no opinion" or "don't know" answer. Opinion between the other 38 was very evenly divided, those declaring themselves in favour of the existing programme just having the lead, 20 to 18. Some of the comments were encouraging for the Department:

> judging from the latest issue of Tsa Ipelegeng /the CD Department's news bulletin/ I should judge the department was working on the right lines. (Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture)
>
> my few dealings with their officers show a generally good appreciation of the problems and therefore solutions or activities sound (Senior Animal Husbandry Officer)

The number of those dissatisfied with the existing programme appears at

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1 The relationship between the two "dimensions" of community development discussed here is a matter of central importance in current developments, both in Botswana and internationally. It was alluded to in the Introduction and in Chapter 7, p. 290, and is further discussed in Chapter 9, p. 388 ff.

first sight rather high, but answers to the follow-up question about the changes of emphasis desired suggest that its significance should not be exaggerated. Several of this group were only dissatisfied with particular features of the programme, often of very minor importance. Two more merely wanted extension of coverage, and a third unfairly laid responsibility for "semi-educated children" at the door of the Department.

The types of changes suggested have little statistical value, as the response rate was so low, being self-limited to the 18 who were dissatisfied with the current programme. However, when the answers to this open-ended question were coded, one feature of some significance stood out very clearly. Of the 26 suggestions made, at least 10 could be classified as wanting stricter selection of both activities and areas, with consequent greater concentration in the work so selected. A senior member of the Ministry of Development Planning made his point pithily:

> More selective concentration of effort.

The DC Maun was equally clear:

> The CD Department is trying to do too much.... Once the department is able to cope with what it is doing then it can/ought to branch out.

Others gave rather fuller comments expanding on the same point:

> I feel the Department, with the greatest respect, is attempting to tackle too many aspects of community development at once with the resources available to it. The overall target is admirable but it will not be achieved without the very firmest foundations. (DC Mochudi)
>
> I should like to see the Department not playing the role of an all-rounder but concentrating on village-level development. (a Motswana DC)

Several people wanted this concentration to be concerned with improving the basic conditions of life, such as in agriculture and health, rather than on projects such as school-building or purely social activities.

The central dilemma as to what extent a community development programme should be directing and controlling local change was raised. The Botswana DC wanted village level community development to encourage savings and small fund-raising schemes so that villagers could finance their own projects "without any [financial] assistance from Council, Central Government, or any agency". The Registrar of Co-operatives wrote that whilst he liked the ideas in some of the work, for example in handicraft stimulation, he thought the approach was wrong: "too much Department-organised and controlled". Both of these views show some degree of divergence from the current mainstream of thinking on local rural development which sees the role of community development as being closely geared to a planned strategy designed to cut out wasteful, non-economic and possibly short-lived projects. However, the experience and judgment of the two officers concerned is such as to command considerable respect, and their views should not be lightly brushed aside. There is no obvious or blue-print solution to this divergence,[1] the optimistic writings of planners notwithstanding,[2] rooted as it is in differing ideologies.[3]

Distinct from the issue of the type of programme being administered is that of the organisational structure of the body or bodies promoting community development in a country. In most English-speaking African countries there is a Department of Community Development[4] with its own field organisation. The reasons why the Department in Botswana was located in the Ministry of Local Government and Lands have already been

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1 As already hinted at above, p. 301.
2 See, for example, UN, Local Participation in Development (New York, 1967), passim.
3 This point is further elaborated in Chapter 9 below, p. 392 ff.
4 In Ghana and Tanzania now renamed Department of Rural Development, indicative of the changing emphasis already referred to.

explained,[1] but it was desired to find out whether informants were satisfied with this arrangement. (Table 13)

Table 13

Informants' opinions as to whether the most suitable organisation for promoting community development was a department in the Ministry of Local Government and Lands

Opinion	Percentage
Most suitable	52%
Not most suitable	24
Don't know	6
No opinion	2
No response	16
	100

The majority, just over half, were satisfied, a quarter being non-committal, whilst another quarter were not satisfied. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that a fair number of the satisfied group had not seriously considered any alternatives, but that the dissatisfied ones had their own proposals. Opportunity was therefore provided to suggest organisational changes. The more obvious intention of this follow-up question concerned the placing of the Department in the ministerial structure, but it had a less obvious though more fundamental implication. One view of community development is that being essentially a "people's movement", a government field organisation and hence a government department to control and administer it, is a contradiction in terms.[2] It was hoped that respondents would feel free to comment on this point, though it was subsequently realised that insufficient attention had been drawn to it in the wording of the question.

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1 See above, p. 244 ff.

2 In Scotland, for example, the view of the Scottish Council of Social Service, the leading agency in the field of rural community development, is that central or local government bodies are *ipso facto* unsuited for promoting community development as a people's movement.

Most of the suggestions, made by 17 respondents, fell into one or more of three categories: that the Department should become a Ministry in its own right; that it should be transferred to some other Ministry; that it should be integrated with the District Administration. It is interesting that the three people suggesting the first course were all Batswana: the Minister of Education, Health and Labour, B.C. Thema, who appreciated that with existing resources the proposal was more ideal than practical; a Member of Parliament; and the Mayor of Lobatsi, Ralph Molefe, a highly experienced social welfare professional. They all based their arguments on the vital importance of community development, and the need for its agency to be free to develop its own policy.[1] Of the 'transfer' proposals, most favoured the Ministry of Agriculture, since the Departments of Agriculture and Community Development were the only widespread extension agencies, and rural development and agricultural development were so closely connected and interdependent.[2] Somewhat fewer favoured transfer to the Ministry of Development Planning. Only one person wanted community development to be in the Ministry of Education, Health and Labour.

The proposal that Community Development should be more closely integrated with the District Administration, mentioned by three respondents, was associated with the frustration, already evidenced, at the indeterminate role of the DC's. One DC wanted both these departments to be put directly under the President's portfolio.

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1 This point again draws attention to the difficult, though extremely important question of the relationship between community development policy and national development policy. See below, pp. 392-394.

2 This arrangement would be somewhat similar to the current Indian pattern in which Community Development concentrates 80% of its resources on agricultural development. See Hunter (1970), op.cit., p.70. It would not appear to be a suitable model for Botswana, where the need for increased food production, though vitally important, is less drastic.

It is difficult to attach more weight to one of these proposals rather than the other. The implications of each course of action cannot be considered decisive. The advantages of Community Development being in the Ministry of Agriculture are fairly obvious, but there would be drawbacks: a new organisation would be needed to take over urban social welfare responsibilities; the inevitable tendency to rationalise within the Ministry would probably have the effect of making community development more and more akin to agricultural extension, with consequent narrowing of the general approach to rural development. The Ministry of Development Planning also has its attractions, particularly since it is not a "competing" Ministry - for funds, subject-responsibility, or areal organisation. However, the attachment of community development to it might not only jeopardise this impartial position, but also effectively prevent it from objectively assessing the implementation of development programmes. In this proposal and in the one pertaining to the District Administration, there might well be a fundamental conflict between the persuasive, even permissive, ideology of community development, and the directive element which is associated with both the other two agencies. There was definitely the underlying feeling in these proposals that the Ministry of Local Government and Lands lacked "teeth", and was both incapable of and unwilling to follow-up its own policies in the field.

Running counter, however, to this point of view, which might be described as "efficiency-achievement" oriented, was the suggestion of a senior official in the Office of the President, the Clerk to the Cabinet:

> It is suggested that the possibility of basing community development work on local council areas and therefore making this work the responsibility of local councils rather than on central government organisation should be investigated. If community development were essentially a local council effort it might be possibly more a "we" effort than a "they" effort.

Although the idea was not entirely new,[1] this was the only proposal which touched upon the more basic implication of the question.[2] It also demonstrates, consciously or otherwise, a purist community development point of view,[3] and can be described as "democracy-process" oriented. The argument it sparks off involves fundamental questions of development administration which are discussed elsewhere.[4]

Whilst most of the suggestions for organisational change are interesting in themselves, prompting as they do critical thinking about the structure of a Community Development Department, the most significant lessons only become apparent when all the responses are considered together. That over a third of the respondents felt the question warranted discussion at all (would they have done so had it related to the Medical or Veterinary Departments, for instance?), that the proposals came from all categories of these respondents, that they were so varied, and that a high proportion of them indicated a desire for closer association with the respondent's own agency (almost 100% in the case of agriculturists and district administrators), are factors that all underline the unique and controversial position that a Community Development agency holds in a developing country. The internal ambivalence of community development, discussed at the outset of this thesis,[5] is reflected in this organisational dilemma. The comment of the Registrar of Co-operatives, who found he was unable to propose an organisational change, illustrates a dimension of the competing roles:

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1 The Department of CD had in 1966 arranged for the Kgatleng and Tati Districts to employ CDA's. In subsequent years, these personnel were incorporated into the Department.
2 Mentioned above, p. 339.
3 This officer had in former years been responsible for relief work in the country and had shared an office with the CDO at the time of the first food-for-work projects: this association may have had some influence on his views.
4 See below, pp. 384 ff.
5 See above, p.15 ff.

> it [Department of CD] does a number of things other departments should do, but don't (eg. baby care, home running). But it has too little connection with other departments and in some fields (eg. women's clubs, handicrafts) is almost regarded as a technical department running the activity.

He sits on the fence. But to what extent should a Department of Community Development - and the description would fit the departments in many another country - be allowed to do so? Can it plug gaps, develop and maintain its own extension programme, and be linked to several other (technical) departments all at the same time? Realistic solutions pass from a consideration of principles, or even professional practice, to the managerial and strategic spheres. Different situations will thus lead to different solutions, but the questions raised here suggest the scope and need for management analysis, not only in Botswana, based on a precise statement of objectives, if inefficiency, wasteful use of resources, and confusion of function are to be avoided.

That there had in fact been considerable interaction between the Department and other agencies was established by the response to the next three questions. Over three-quarters of respondents from other ministries and departments[1] were aware that their agency had been asked to participate in a community development activity by the Department, and almost three-quarters of all non-CD respondents had personally had discussions with at least one member of the Department. Of the examples of activities on which there had been inter-departmental participation, one-third related to self-help projects, a quarter to adult education activities and one-fifth to general district development.

No conclusions can be drawn from these responses as to which agency was the net receiver of benefit in such co-operation. However, there

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1 The question did not apply to MP's or CD staff.

was a strong consensus that local councillors and staff of other departments would benefit from a greater knowledge of community development methods and techniques. 92% were of this opinion, with only 8% disagreeing: an encouraging sign of appreciation of the value of the approach already demonstrated by the Department in the field. It also offered a possible opening for providing some appropriate training of a kind hardly touched upon by the Department.[1]

Probably the most distinctive work pioneered by the Department was the establishment of Village Development Committees. Respondents were asked whether they thought that with the development of local councils, VDC's should also be established. In this case as well, the value of the VDC's had, in the eyes of the respondents at least, been vindicated, for 93%[2] replied in the affirmative. 90% thought that VDC's could help the work of their agency or area. The responses to the follow-up open-ended question concerning the ways in which such help might be afforded were post-coded into the categories shown in Table 14.

Table 14

Respondents' views of the way village development committees could help the work of their agency or area

Manner of help	Times mentioned
Focus for stimulating interest and action in local development	22
Means of improving participation in departmental programmes	11
Expressing local community's real needs	12
Providing leadership	9
Acting as general grass-roots link	11
Other	11

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1 This area of training still remained wide open in 1971: the only significant activities of this nature at the time was the combined training of prospective CDA's with prospective Agricultural Demonstrators at the Botswana Agricultural College. Orientation training had, however, been recognised as a Departmental responsibility as early as 1965. See above p. 206.

2 Adjusted frequency for missing values.

One-third of the replies mentioned the VDC's potential catalytic and organisational role in generating local development on the part of the villagers themselves. There is the implied recognition here that the new local authorities, the district councils, were not sufficiently local to fulfil this function at village level. There is also the realisation that neither the kgotla nor the headman with his court members[1] could suitably undertake it, being vehicles for general discussion and settlement of disputes respectively, rather than for modernising action. A VDC needs to be more than a forum for discussing local problems: it has to be able to seek out solutions, and then be responsible for implementing the course of action chosen. It thus becomes the local agency for change.

The actual frequency of response in each category is of little interest. However the categories themselves do deserve note: five valid functions for a VDC were discernible, each receiving substantial support from the respondents. One could no doubt find further useful roles, and of course the functions themselves could be expressed in other terms, but this statement of expectations by commentators, each of whom occupies a position of strategic or tactical importance in the development of Botswana, provides as relevant a starting point for the critical review of VDC's as any. Such a review is not part of this paper, but it is suggested that the importance placed on VDC's, the variety of functions which they could fulfil, together with the lack of knowledge about which ones they are actually fulfilling, and with what measure of efficiency, make the exercise an urgent one. If further support for this contention is needed, it can be found in the comments of the two people who opposed the establishment of VDC's; which illustrate

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1 The elders of the village who assisted with local customary courts, and who also were unofficial advisers on village matters generally.

some of the questions needing consideration. An MP pointed to the dichotomy of the situation where headmen and chiefs[1] are jealous of other people elected to committees, but where nevertheless the villagers still rely very much on those headmen. He also contended, not without good reason, that people are often elected to VDC's for various reasons "regardless of their capability or incapability". The well-documented view of some commentators that the Indian experience has shown village democracy to be in some ways inimical to development indicates that his general position is not unique.[2] A senior expatriate member of the Game Department, formerly an administrator, and highly knowledgeable about Tswana life, said:

> Too many committees cause chaos. This can already be seen in the battle between the traditional tribal authorities and the new District Councils which are unaware (purposely) of the traditional social structure.

Statistical Information

The third section of this survey was designed to obtain information about the percentage expenditure by different departments and local councils on general information and adult education, the purpose being to make some assessment of the levels of extension concern and activity in these agencies. It was decided subsequently, however, not to report any findings on this question. In the first place, it proved extremely difficult for respondents to answer, since official estimates are not divided in the same manner as the question, with consequent doubt being thrown on the validity of the figures. Secondly, it was realised that to have obtained meaningful information on the subject, a more probing

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1 Meaning local chiefs, not the main tribal chiefs.
2 See Hunter (1970), op.cit., p.108-121.

enquiry, involving several more questions, would have been necessary.

Conclusion

This chapter has been a report on the opinions, judgments and awareness of 50 people in Botswana, both nationals and expatriates, who in a variety of positions and occupations were directly involved in the development of the country in 1968. A quarter were the elected representatives of the people, another fifth were community development staff, the remainder being government officials of other departments. Their experience and responsibilities ranged from national to village level.

There was a fair measure of agreement that the quality of preparation, introduction and maintenance of development programmes is very important in influencing the success of such programmes. Although local conditions were considered to be somewhat less important, they could still be influential. The lack of suitable leadership was seen to be the most significant of these local factors in hindering development. Rather interestingly, inadequate natural resources were not considered to be a very great hindrance, a finding agreeing well with that of UN experts who showed that local severity of conditions made remarkably little difference to the achievement of project objectives.[1] There was a considerable degree of agreement that the arrangements and efforts made by government for "grass-roots" development, together with the participation of people at this level, was very unsatisfactory. There was a greater division of opinion about the situation at district and national levels.

There was almost 100% belief that community development was an important feature of a government strategy for development, and also

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1 Hyman, op.cit., p.180.

evident was an encouragingly sophisticated awareness of the meaning of community development, embracing its conceptual and qualitative aspects as well as its pragmatic manifestations. How community development should be promoted and organised was a controversial issue, an indication of the complexity of the problem. Leadership training, and the establishment and improvement of village development committees emerged as two features of a community development programme needing special care and critical attention in the future.

The basic premise of the survey was that in the field of development, and community development in particular, it is important for the evolution of policy, and especially for the revision of the status quo to have knowledge of the awareness, opinions, and beliefs regarding topical issues on the part of the people who are closely concerned with the direction and implementation of development programmes, and on the part of those who shape public opinion. There are several ways of doing this, one of which is by a systematic survey as described in this chapter. The results of such assessment will not necessarily provide guidelines upon which technical decisions can be made. For example, one may well question the extent to which the opinions of the present sample should be used, say, in deciding the relative priority to be given to the tackling of a range of obstacles to development, or in choosing specific functions for a Department of Community Development. Rather the value is in realising that the opinions, beliefs, attitudes, and levels of awareness indicated are themselves factors in the development process which need to be taken into account. Too often plans and programmes which appear well-conceived, quite understandable and generally desirable to a far-off academic who reads of them in a learned journal, may not have a similar image in the eyes of those who have the power, consciously or not, to facilitate or impede those same plans and programmes. If, for example, Members of Parliament have only a hazy

and confused idea of what a community development programme is or is supposed to be doing, they clearly cannot contribute much to understanding on the part of their constituents. If, to take another case, Heads of Government Departments are not convinced of the need for greater integration of planning and operation between their agencies then the mere establishment of co-ordinating machinery will be insufficient.

Acknowledging the limitations of the present study in both coverage and depth, it is nevertheless contended that it has demonstrated the value of this type of assessment of attitudes and opinions. Systematic studies of this nature are few in Africa, and even in India, the most active country in this regard, the main emphasis has been on the thinking of villagers, rather than that of officials and politicians. Yet it is the quality of the leadership, official and unofficial, as this study itself suggests,[1] which is so influential and hence crucial in development. It is contended that efforts by governments to assess systematically the leadership's attitudes, opinions and awareness on specific, relevant issues, too often apparently just taken for granted, would throw up a variety of needs, attention to which in terms of more effective implementation of development strategies would be well worth the comparatively small effort involved.

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1 See Tables 4, 5, and 6, pp.310 to 315 above.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

In the Introduction to this study it was stated that the main question to be answered was: What is community development in Botswana, what were its origins and why did it evolve in the way it has?[1] The answers to this question are contained in the foregoing chapters, and the task of this concluding chapter is to clarify them. Some of the issues raised by the study have relevance beyond the boundaries of Botswana and need to be considered in relation to community development elsewhere in Africa, and indeed internationally. To accomplish this task, the chapter is arranged as follows. Firstly, the arguments of the earlier chapters are reiterated and reviewed; secondly, the most important explanatory factors in the evolution of community development in Botswana are emphasised; and thirdly, the implications of the Botswana case are discussed.

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE STUDY

In order to avoid lengthy descriptive repetition a table has been prepared which indicates the main landmarks in the evolution of community development in Africa, showing these in chronological order and relating them to the situation in Botswana.[2] It should be noted that until the mid-1950's the main external influence on this evolution in British Africa was the Colonial Office; during the second half of the 1950's this influence was shared with the United Nations which was becoming increasingly interested in community development; from 1960 onwards the

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1 See above, p.3.
2 See Appendix XIV, p.415.

United Nations took over as the most influential external agency.

Colonial Origins

The origins of community development in English-speaking African countries are found in the efforts of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and the Colonial Office in the 1920's to adapt "Europeanised" education systems to the cultural, social and economic conditions of individual countries, and more particularly in the attempt to relate the school to the local community.[1] This community orientation led to the emphasis in colonial policy in the 1930's on community adult education in the context of a changing environment.[2] Although some interesting experiments were undertaken to give practical expression to the policy, as for example in the employment of Jeanes teachers, its impact on educational systems was limited. One reason for this was that no practical plan of action had been worked out centrally through which the ideas could be implemented, and another was the suspicion on the part of many Africans that the policy proposed was designed to give them an inferior education.[3] That the strategy was basically a sound one is supported by the continual variations on the same theme that have been proposed in Africa in succeeding years. Indeed the essence of the policy, if not its detailed application, is still accepted today.[4]

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1 See above, pp. 37-46.
2 See above, pp. 47-49.
3 This opposition has been discussed at some length by K.J. King, "The American Background of the Phelps Stokes Commissions and Their Influences in Education in East Africa, especially in Kenya" (Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University, 1968).
4 See Commonwealth Secretariat, Education in Rural Areas (London, 1970). It may also be noted that the "community school" concept, an important feature in the Phelps-Stokes Reports, is a current concern of the Educational Priority Area strategy in the United Kingdom (Professor A.H. Halsey, speaking on the television programme "The Child is Father to the Man", BBC 2, 18 February 1971).

The emphasis on adult education evolved into the policy of mass education enunciated in 1943. By this time there was a more receptive climate in Africa than there had been to the Colonial Office initiatives in the 1920's and 1930's. The main reason for this was that mass education was interpreted in the African territories as being applicable to the field of adult, rather than children's, education. Whereas the strategy of the 1920's and 1930's had been regarded as a method of downgrading the content of school education, mass education conversely appeared to open up new opportunities for those who had already missed the chance of formal schooling. Thus attention could be directed towards finding ways and means of developing these opportunities, whilst the much more fundamental issue of the orientation of formal education could be by-passed. Another reason for its greater impact was that it reflected and gave conceptual support to experiments in adult literacy and community self-help that were already taking place in the field.

From 1943 onwards mass education became increasingly associated with the role of the colonial administrator, and its association with professional educationists concurrently diminished. The policy was often interpreted in Africa in terms of adult literacy work and communal improvement projects. It was thus seen to be directly relevant to social welfare which was usually the responsibility of the administrator. When the term 'community development' replaced 'mass education' in 1948, it had already become accepted as an aspect of administration in the widest sense rather than a special feature of education.[1]

By the early 1950's most African colonies had accepted community development as official policy, and in many of them, notably in Uganda,

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1 See above, p.72.

Kenya, Tanganyike, Ghana and Nigeria, nation-wide programmes were established. The 1948 Creech Jones Despatch had given the impetus to create the necessary machinery for administering community development. Of particular importance were: the district team, designed to improve co-ordination between the several government agencies working on one area; district development committees which attempted to consider district needs in their totality, and which provided a measure of co-ordination between government agencies, local authority, and voluntary bodies; and village development committees, which facilitated two-way communication between authorities and people at the grass-roots and which, at their best, were agents for both the planning and implementation of local change. As the concepts of co-ordination, and, at least in theory, public participation in development, became more widely accepted as general principles of government administration in these countries during the 1950's and 1960's, community development tended to become increasingly associated with the functions of special Departments of Community Development, which usually were closely linked with social welfare. A common range of activities undertaken by these Departments became identifiable, including self-help projects, women's work, adult literacy, youth work, recreation, and social work such as probation and child care. By 1962, it was recognised that community development had two distinct meanings:

> In the one, it means a particular philosophy and approach to development which may be used by many branches of government, by voluntary organisations and by political parties. In the other, it refers to the specialised activities of the department of government going under that name.[1]

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1 Cambridge Overseas Studies Committee, Training for Development, Report of the Summer Conference on Administration, September 1962, p.26.

At this time, community development in its first meaning was widely accepted in these countries, whilst Departments of Community Development had become comparatively stabilised in their functions, their current evolution being mainly in the direction of improving their effectiveness through better management methods and the training of staff.

Botswana: Continuity and Change

As may be expected, the evolution of community development in Botswana exhibits characteristics of both continuity and change. Its origins in community education in the 1930's and early 1940's are clearly discernible. Until 1945 the territory kept closely in touch with relevant developments in colonial policy. Serious attempts were made to relate education to local needs and to develop fundamental community adult education responsive to public demand.[1]

In 1946 a definite break in continuity is evident, followed by a fourteen-year period during which there was little apparent development of ideas in the field of welfare or mass education, despite the steady evolution of thinking which was affecting policy and programmes elsewhere in Africa. Bechuanaland, in effect, parted company from colonial policy during this period. Mass education had commended itself in principle to the authorities, but they did not make the necessary provision, in terms of resources and administrative arrangements, to allow it to make an impact on the country. Their rationale for this failure was that finance was insufficient. However, this explanation carries little weight in the light of earlier demonstrations that adult education could be usefully developed without the aid of extensive finance.

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1 See above, pp.54-55.

A more convincing explanation is found in their lack of defined long-term objectives for the administration of the territory in general, and more particularly in their inability to appreciate the direct contribution which mass education could make in a broad strategy of social development.

The relation between mass education and welfare was recognised, but this recognition had little effect upon the policy and organisation of the welfare programme which was strongly influenced until 1959 by the philosophy of British voluntary uniformed youth movements with their distinctive emphasis on the building of moral character and the development of the individual. With the Education Department absorbed in the problem of how to expand primary school facilities, discussion of welfare-mass education policy at senior administrative level ceased during this period.

A marked change in the orientation of welfare was introduced in 1960-1961 under the influence of the concepts of South African urban social work with its paternalistic assumption that progress depended upon the inculcation of "western" ideals in the Batswana, its faith in the provision of leisure-time amenities, and its divorce from measures to improve basic living standards. None of these features was progressive, but in two ways this brief period represented positive developments. Most important, there was for the first time an attempt to construct a general rationale and policy for welfare. Hitherto welfare had been interpreted merely as a series of activities: its policy and concepts are discernible only with hindsight and an analysis of the activities. The other notable innovation of the period was the attempt to draw up a programme based upon a conscious survey of social need:[1] hitherto it

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1 That the results of this approach were not progressive, due to the ideological influence mentioned above, should not obscure the value of the methodology adopted.

had been assumed that the services being offered, mainly the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides movements, were of themselves desirable.

In 1962 there was initially some continuity in that the urban social welfare emphasis was maintained and the youth movements concern was re-suscitated. But dissatisfaction with the relevance of these two focuses, together with the new insights provided by exposure to international experience, led to a reformulation of social welfare policy in terms of community development.[1] Initially this was conceived in terms of grass-roots development of the rural areas based on community action.

This trend was institutionalised and consolidated by the formal establishment of a Community Development Department in 1965. Within the next two years most of the fundamental concepts which continued to underpin community development policy in 1970 became evident: the need to relate village development to district and national planning;[2] the importance of integrating community development with local government;[3] the need for adequate machinery at district level to plan and administer development activities in a co-ordinated and inter-disciplinary manner;[4] the establishment of permanent, self-generating institutions at both local and national level;[5] and the attempt wherever possible to make public participation a feature of both the planning and implementation of development.[6] There were thus several strong basic strands of continuity.

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1 Chapter 4 above, pp.142-168.
2 See above, pp.221, 226-227, 233-234 and 247.
3 See above, pp.246-248.
4 See above, pp.284-286.
5 As in the fields of women's organisations, youth services and sport. See Chapter 7 above, pp.253-272.
6 See above, pp.196-197, 222 and 248.

Features of change during the period 1965-1970 are seen mainly in the increased ability of the Government, and the Community Development Department in particular, to give practical expression to these concepts. This greater ability derived from the availability of increased resources, the introduction of more rational methods of development planning, and the greater support from national leaders which community development enjoyed in the later years.[1] Concurrent with this improved implementation was a clearer enunciation of the aims, objectives and concepts of the community development strategy. The most recent phase in the evolution of community development has witnessed its much closer integration with the administration of district development.[2]

KEY ASPECTS OF THE BOTSWANA EVOLUTION

One of the main lessons of the Botswana case is that community development requires a receptive environment if it is to flourish and expand to its full potential. Many times in both the colonial and the Botswana experience ideas, which have subsequently proved valid in community development, were propounded but failed to take root owing to the lack of suitable pre-conditions. To make a generalisation, we may say that although the basic ideas of community development - those of public participation, self-help and self-reliance - are simple, their interpretation in terms of policies and programmes is extremely difficult. The task becomes more complex the larger the unit of operation, not only because of the increased scale but also because of the increased number of cross-cutting and conflicting pressures which have to be borne in mind when policy is being decided. These are seen clearly at national

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1 These points are treated more fully later in this chapter.
2 See above, pp.287-289.

level. The needs of democracy have to be weighed against those of development; the desirability of "planning from below" has to be balanced against the need for establishing priorities for socio-economic change on a national basis; facilitation of individual initiative must be tempered by consideration of the needs of the less progressive elements of the community; village and community self-help must be seen in the context of district and regional development; a balance has to be found between programmes leading to tangible results, as in project work, and those which defy easy measurement, such as community education.

If these dilemmas appear to be those of development in general, they are even more central to community development in particular. The evolution of community development policy is indeed a sophisticated and delicate undertaking. Community development cannot be imposed, either at village or national level; if it is, then its concepts, operation and potential will be limited. It depends on dialogue and consultation; these are as essential in the formulation of national policy as they are in the choice and organisation of a community self-help project. If there is no dialogue, as in Botswana from 1946-1961, growth is inhibited.

In order to flourish, however, this dialogue requires favourable conditions. These were scarce in Botswana for the two decades following the Second World War. Community development cuts across the boundaries of sectors of work such as agriculture, education or public works, but the Protectorate Administration operated on a vertical division of labour between semi-autonomous departments. At district level in other African colonies, co-ordination of government activities had institutional recognition in the form of district teams in the 1950's, but in the Protectorate these teams were never set up. Community development flourishes where both governors and governed have a basic belief that ordinary citizens have a right to, and are capable of, a measure of self-determination

but in Botswana these beliefs did not become widespread until the mid-1960's.

We may now examine rather more closely these pre-conditions influencing the evolution of community development. For convenience the discussion is divided between general historical constraints, the nature of policy-formulation, and the question of the status of community development in the government machine.

Historical Constraints

Inadequate Infrastructure for Development. It must be remembered that community development was by no means the only sector of government responsibility that was long neglected. In the Introduction to this study Britain's lack of commitment to the development of Bechuanaland until 1960 was clearly revealed.[1] The influence of South Africa on this situation was predominant. Since it was expected that Bechuanaland, together with Basutoland and Swaziland, would finally be handed over to the Union of South Africa, Britain was reluctant to put resources into the country. For the same reason, she did not take steps to lay a foundation for eventual self-government. Furthermore, associated with the acceptance that South Africa would eventually incorporate the territory, and more especially with the location of the territorial capital in Mafeking (in South Africa), a high proportion of civil servants were South African, whereas in territories further north they would have been British. Not only that but white South Africans were, even in the 1960's, holding down junior clerical and semi-skilled jobs which, elsewhere in British territories, were being done by nationals. Not unnaturally the

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1 See above, pp.18-25.

attitude of white South Africans set the tone for the prevailing social climate, which was inimical to the development of local responsibility on the part of the Batswana.[1]

The net result of these conditions was that when internal self-government was achieved, the Democratic Party Government inherited a problem of underdevelopment "of classic proportions".[2] The two inter-related features of this underdevelopment most influential in inhibiting the growth of community were that there had been "practically no attempt to train Batswana to run their own country",[3] and that political awareness and experience[4] was, with the exception of a handful of leaders, virtually non-existent.

In sum, we may draw two general conclusions. Firstly, the absence of community development as a method of administration during the colonial period can be explained partially as an inevitable concomitant of the general lack of attention to measures designed to develop self-government and local responsibility. Secondly, even had there been attempts to establish a community development programme on a departmental or sectoral basis during the 1940's and 1950's, such an exercise would have been severely limited by the dearth of essential supportive developments in the fields of local government, district administration, education and training.

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1 It should be noted that apart from civil servants, most traders were white South African. A small anecdote helps to reflect the social climate. When the writer, as a District Officer in Lobatse in 1961, invited a few African acquaintances to his house, the event warranted an item in the Johannesburg-published Naledi ya Batswana under the heading "Multi-Racial Party in Lobatsi".

2 Sir Seretse Khama, Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, September 1969.

3 Ibid.

4 Using the terms in relation to modern as opposed to tribal organisations. The question of political involvement in community development is of the greatest importance and is discussed further below on pp. 374-376.

The Administrative Relationship with Britain, and the Failure to Benefit from Colonial Experience. Looking further into the reasons for poor territorial development, we need to note that the arrangement whereby the Protectorate was administered through the Commonwealth Relations Office (CRO) was very inefficient. This administrative system was a logical outcome of the Protectorate's special relationship with South Africa, a relationship which set the High Commission Territories apart from the pattern of colonial development evolving further north. Whereas the Colonial Office was designed to take administrative and policy decisions, this was "the last thing" the CRO could do.[1] However, although the CRO arrangement undoubtedly reduced the effectiveness of the communication of colonial policy to the Protectorates, it does not entirely account for Bechuanaland's isolation from developments in colonial administration, as is evidenced by the fact that at several important conferences the other High Commission Territories were represented when Bechuanaland was not. The isolation was particularly marked in the field of community development. There was no Bechuanaland representative at the 1948 Summer Conference on "Encouraging Initiative in African Society".[2] In 1950, when over a thousand copies of the Mass Education Bulletin were going out from the Colonial Office-sponsored Mass Education Clearing House at the London University Institute of Education, not one was reaching Bechuanaland.[3] In 1952 no copy of the bulletin's successor the Community Development Bulletin was going there.[4] No Bechuanaland representative attended the 1954 Ashridge Conference on

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1 Sir Charles Jeffries, The Transfer of Power (London: Pall Mall, 1960), pp.140-141.
2 See above, pp.70-71.
3 Mass Education Clearing House, First Report, 30 November 1950, Appendix I.
4 CD Clearing House, Second Report, 1952, Appendix B.

Social Development, although there were over eighty men and women from thirty territories including Basutoland and Swaziland.[1] Likewise at the 1960 Summer Conference on the "Organisation of Community Development" there were representatives from both Basutoland and Swaziland, but none from Bechuanaland.

The Influence of the Tribal Structure. It is suggested that the laissez-faire approach to the development of the Protectorate, which was characteristic until well into the 1950's, was encouraged by the well organised tribal structure. The fact that all the most populated areas of the country owed allegiance to the Chiefs of dominant tribes suited the approach excellently. It was thus possible to follow the policy of "minimum intervention",[2] leaving the various tribal areas to administer themselves along their own lines. To the distant observer this may have appeared to be a neat and satisfactory arrangement, but there were weaknesses. Although it worked well where there was a responsible Chief such as Kgama the Great of the Ngwato, the calibre of Chiefs varied enormously. Furthermore, although the tribal system was adequate for maintaining the status quo it was not particularly suitable for modernisation strategies. Thus, because the modernisation of local administration was so long delayed, when radical changes in the form of District Councils were introduced in 1966, there was very little sound infrastructure in terms of local leadership, trained manpower, and modernising institutions on which to base them.[3] It is not surprising

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1 CO, Social Development in the British Colonial Territories, Misc.No.523 (HMSO, 1954), pp.38-40.
2 See above, p.25.
3 These comments should not be taken as conflicting with the view expressed on p.29 above, which referred to the social and political structure.

therefore that for several years the District Council system worked inefficiently, nor that, accepting the situation as it existed rather than it was wished,[1] the Government in 1970 decided to include tribal authorities in the structure of district development administration. In sum, the tribal structure is thus seen to have had a determining influence on the method of administration in the colonial era, and currently its contribution to development administration is by no means exhausted.

The Nature of Policy Formulation and Development Planning 1935-1965

The argument developed above that there was a general lack of commitment to development until the 1960's appears to be strikingly refuted by the events which took place under Dumbrell's leadership as Director of Education. Before passing judgment, however, it is necessary to bear in mind that the innovations he pioneered were the result of his imaginative approach and his manipulation of existing resources rather than of greatly expanded resources. He was, undoubtedly, a man of exceptional ability and perception and, being a senior member of what was in his time a mere handful of people heading the Protectorate Administration, he enjoyed sufficient freedom of action to be able to implement his ideas as far as resources permitted. It should also be borne in mind that the "lack of commitment" argument was not directed towards invividual officers: there were of course many devoted civil servants who were doing their best to help the country. Dumbrell was, however, exceptional in that he was well aware of colonial policy developments in his field, and had both the ability and the opportunity to exploit his ideas.

We may ask whether the post-Second World War development of mass education would have been very different had Dumbrell continued as

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1 Note the comments by respondents to the 1968 survey. Chapter 8, pp.210 and 245.

Director of Education or, indeed, had he been given the post of Director of Mass Education that was suggested.[1] It seems highly likely. The coincidence of the "no-funds-therefore-no-mass-education" syndrome with Dumbrell's retirement is too striking to have been entirely fortuitous.[2] Creech Jones' 1948 Desptach, it will be remembered, engendered no major discussion in the Protectorate and the implication is that there was no official in the Secretariat who appreciated its importance. Had there been so, it would have been impossible to write off the strategy as irrelevant merely on the grounds of insufficient funds.[3] Indeed it could be argued that to have adopted a community development strategy would have produced more effective results from the funds that the Administration already had at its disposal. A further implication concerns the lack of communication within the Protectorate Administration itself. The several important policy statements from the Colonial Office during the period 1948-1952 were not even referred to the Welfare Officer,[4] despite his connections with mass education. Although Creech Jones had specifically requested that his Despatch be circularised to all administrative and technical officers in the field, this was not done. The immediate acceptance on the part of the Government Secretary of the Director of Education's judgment in regard to these Colonial Office initiatives further illustrates poor communication and lack of group action in decision-making: when the Director of Education commented that there were no funds, that apparently was the end of the matter and no further questions were asked.

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1 See above, p.95, footnote 2.
2 See above, pp.108-109.
3 See above, pp.104-105.
4 See above, p.106.

This unquestioning acceptance of the Director of Education's judgment raises the issue of the procedure for policy formulation in the Protectorate. It is suggested that until the country became independent in 1966 policy formulation in any technical or professional sphere was 'a one-man show'. There is here some parallel with the situation regarding the role of Chiefs in the territory: the system worked well when there was a good Chief. Thus community adult education, and subsequently mass education, were officially considered to be of great importance so long as Dumbrell was in office. However, the main point to note here is not how progressive a particular official's ideas were, but rather the instability and potential lack of continuity in a system in which policy formulation depended so heavily upon an individual officer's interests and inclinations. Yet this was the situation. During Leech's long term of office he was left almost entirely on his own to do whatever work he chose to do. Few questions were asked about welfare policy and the only occasion when the senior members of the Secretariat took a serious interest was on a minor issue of no consequence to the welfare of the Batswana.[1] Likewise when Mrs Coppens re-orientated the programme in respect of the South African urban social work tradition - which in fact represented a major shift of policy - the change was unquestioningly accepted by the Administration. This absence of any suitable policy-making body in the field of welfare could, of course, cut both ways. When the Welfare Officer in 1962-63 was intent upon giving the programme a community development orientation he was at liberty to do so of his own accord. On the other hand, he had no group or organisation to consult for criticism, confirmation, support or impetus for

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1 See above, pp.126-127.

the desired policy. The first time that the policy of the Department was discussed formally in committee was when the pilot community development scheme was submitted to the Advisory Committee on Social Services in late 1963.[1] The Advisory Committee, however, being also concerned with education, medical services and labour, did not develop any particular expertise in the field of welfare and community development, added to which it had no executive role. Its effectiveness as a policy-making body was therefore more apparent than real. It was not until 1965, when an organisation and methods survey was carried out, that the role of the Department was subjected to close scrutiny by Government. This exercise coincided with the introduction of the Ministerial system,[2] and henceforth policy formulation ceased to be entirely the personal purlieu of the Head of the Department.

The system of allocating resources for development further emphasised both the absence of group planning procedures and the concomitant importance of the individual departmental heads role in policy formulation. Although by the early 1960's lip-service was being paid to development planning, understanding of it on the part of Government officials was rudimentary. Thus the 1963-1968 Development Plan represented a compilation of separate departmental schemes rather than a strategy for comprehensive or integrated development.[3] The method of drawing up plans was as follows. Each Head of Department was called upon, at the appropriate time, to submit development proposals to the Finance Division. Naturally therefore he based it upon departmental rather than inter-departmental organisation, a tendency that was encour-

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1 See above, p.180 and pp.183-184.
2 See above, p.244.
3 Development Plan 1963-1968.

aged by the Finance Division's method of vetting proposals. Those which were most self-contained and appeared administratively "tidy" would receive preference. Obviously it was easier for a Head of Department to meet these criteria by keeping his scheme within his own organisation: he had no incentive, indeed he was discouraged, to plan inter-departmentally. The Finance Division was influenced in its approach by the system of funding for development. Being a poor country, unable even to balance its recurrent budget, Bechuanaland depended for development finance entirely upon British assistance in the form of Colonial Development and Welfare funds (CD & W). The administration of the CD & W funds was rigidly controlled in London;[1] so much so that for a scheme to have a chance of being accepted it had to be costed in great detail. Thus, since to develop their work they required funds, Heads of Departments were under pressure to prepare individual, tightly-budgeted schemes costed in detail, rather than to propose general lines of development. The system and the pressures it imposed affected the whole Administration. As we have already seen, the "CD & W mentality" was a factor in delaying the working out of a broad rationale and policy for welfare at that time.[2]

Transcending and influencing the constraints of particular administrative arrangements was a more fundamental issue, namely the question of the objectives of government. Modern management research has shown that one of the key features needed for effective co-ordination within an organisation is the establishment of clear goals which are known, understood and subscribed to by all sections of the organisation.[3] In the context of government this means that Ministries and Departments

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1 Jeffries, op.cit., p.21.
2 See above, pp.160-162 and pp.164-166.
3 G.F. Wieland, "The Determinants of Clarity in Organisation Goals", Human Organisation, 22, 2, 1969, pp.161-169.

must be able to subsume their own agency objectives into the framework of national goals. It was not until the Democratic Party Government began to establish development targets and priorities based on the assessment of national needs instead of the needs of individual government departments, as had been the case earlier, that such a framework was formed. Prior to that the Administration had had to exercise its judgment in allocating resources between the claims of individual departments, but it had played this role in response to the sectoral demands of these agencies rather than in relation to principles and objectives determined at a supra-departmental level. Under these conditions community development with its emphasis on process, planning from below, and inter-sectoral activity, did not have the right credentials to command attention at the highest levels of Government.

The situation began to change radically, however, as the concept of nation-building gathered strength in both official and unofficial circles. Community development became increasingly recognised as very relevant to the task of national development. The later enunciation of the four national principles of democracy, development, self-reliance, and unity[1] gave further clarity to the relationship between community development and national development, and indeed it was recognised by the President that the local development committees established by the Community Development Department provided one of the most important means through which these principles were implemented.[2]

We may summarise this argument briefly. Whilst policy formulation and the allocation of resources in the Government were departmentally oriented the small Community Development Department tended to be an unsuccessful competitor against more powerful departments. Conversely

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1 Daily News, 29 September 1969.
2 Ibid.

in later years, and especially since 1968, the increasingly inter-sectoral orientation of policy formulation and development planning have provided the conditions in which community development has been accepted at top-level as an essential dimension in development strategy.

Recognition, Status, and Support

Although, as stated above, once community development was officially recognised in Botswana its subsequent evolution showed a degree of common pattern with other African countries, this was not the case in all respects. There were important differences between the respective 'starting points'. In the 'mainstream' African colonies community development had been launched in the 1940's and 1950's on the explicit instructions of the Colonial Secretary and hence had enjoyed the attention of Governors and the assistance of the overall machinery of colonial administrations. It thus had a flying start. This was far from the case in Botswana. Community development there had to establish itself in the administrative system by working upwards and outwards from the marginal position of a small and uninfluential Welfare Department. Little administrative assistance from the higher echelons of Government was granted until 1966, when the value of community development as demonstrated in the pilot project was becoming recognised outside the Department. Evolution of the role of community development in national development was accordingly much slower in Botswana than it had been in the 'earlier' colonies. The Welfare Officer had decided in 1962 that the central focus of his department should be on community development, but it was not until 1970 that community development was effectively integrated into the system of development administration. This 'low-level' starting point helps to explain why, in contrast to the mainstream African countries, village level organisation for community development on an inter-sectoral basis became widely established before the parallel

district level organisation. At village level the field was open for any outside agency to set up modernising institutions: the Department filled the gap through the creation of Village Development Committees. The Department was in fact the only government agency concerned directly with the village as a unit of administration or development: it thus had a comparatively free hand to establish the pattern of organisation that it deemed most suitable. At the district level however, the Department could not effectively determine the pattern: many other government agencies, as well as the tribal and local authorities, were entrenched at this level, and the Department had no authority and indeed little influence over them.

The influence that community development wields over other agencies reflects the attitude of the Administration towards it. Indeed the nature of this attitude is one of the most important determinants of the role of community development as a government activity. We therefore need to examine it more closely.

It will be remembered that when mass education was first discussed in Mafeking in 1944 it was appreciated that for a programme to be effective it must have support at the highest level and that the person responsible for the programme should be of at least Head of Department status.[1] Creech Jones in his 1948 Despatch emphasised the same point in very clear terms.[2] In the event, however, the Welfare Officer, who was nominally responsible for the work, obtained neither that support nor that status. Further evidence reveals that the welfare-community development function was considered by the Administration to be not merely marginal but even expendable. For example, in 1956, to Leech's

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1 See above, p.97.
2 See above, p.73.

already multifarious duties was added the onerous task of conducting a national census, a task he duly performed. When he retired in 1959 the post of Welfare Officer was allowed to remain vacant for over a year - scarcely an indication that it was considered vital. At the turn of the year 1963-64 the Welfare Officer was informed that he was to be in charge of the 1964 Census. As the Administration well knew, he had only recently returned from overseas training in community development and was deeply involved in the preparations for a pilot project in village development. His remonstrations with the Government Secretary led to this decision being rescinded, but a few weeks later he was informed that he had been appointed Secretary to the Delimitation Commission,[1] a 2-3 month full-time assignment, and that the decision was final. In mid-1966 the Community Development Officer was appointed Director of Independence Celebrations, another full-time assignment lasting several months. Despite his official protest and his arguments that the Ipelegeng programme, which was at a crucial stage,[2] required his personal attention, he was in fact so transferred. Within a week, however, he was transferred back to Community Development, following representations by the World Food Program Officer who informed the Prime Minister that unless this was done the successful implementation of the Ipelegeng programme would be endangered.

One further example will help to illustrate the obstacles to the growth of community development posed by the unsympathetic attitude of the civil service administration. To appreciate it we need to bear in mind that for community development to be effective as an inter-sectoral approach to development, its sponsoring agency must have sufficient

1 See above, p.217.
2 See above, pp.212-218.

status to be able to negotiate policy at the highest level in the government hierarchy.[1] In early 1965 an independent Organisation and Methods expert from Britain carried out an analysis of the Community Development Department and recommended that the Head of the Department should have the title, status and salary of a Director[2] and that resources should be allocated to permit efficient implementation of community development in all districts.[3] The Ministry of Local Government, still at that time effectively run by expatriate administrators, chose to ignore the Organisation and Methods report without giving any reasons to the Community Development Officer.[4] Lacking the status to negotiate on equal terms with other departmental directors he was therefore severely limited in his operations. The limitation was especially unfortunate since one of the central concepts of community development as understood in the Department was that it should adopt an integrated inter-disciplinary approach.[5] This disadvantage of lower status would have been less influential had there existed a system of development planning in which priorities were laid down and resources allocated on

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1 This point is expanded below, p. 388 ff.

2 To be on a par with such posts as the Director of Medical Services or the Director of Education. Responding to this recommendation, the CDO indicated that he considered that the title "Director" should be replaced by that of "Commissioner" which had a less authoritarian flavour. CDO to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government, CD 2 of 6 July 1965.

3 Organisation and Methods Report No.13: Community Development, March 1965.

4 It was not until 1967 that the Community Development Officer's post was renamed Commissioner of Community Development, and even then the salary remained below that of other Directors.

5 An interesting parallel with the current situation in the United Kingdom may be noted for comparative purposes. Agencies concerned with the growth of community work see the lack of appreciation on the part of central government of the potential contribution and wide implications of this work as one of the most important obstacles to its development. Miss Elizabeth Littlejohn, Head of the Community Work Division, National Council of Social Service, in a lecture at the Department of Educational Studies, Edinburgh University, 16 November 1971.

the basis of an inter-disciplinary strategy. However, as long as development plans were based largely on departmental schemes,[1] then there was a bias in favour of those departments with the most influential Directors, a bias which was inimical to the creation of a balanced development strategy.[2]

These examples serve to re-emphasise how indecisive at supra-departmental level was official commitment to the Welfare Department and its successor the Community Development Department until well into 1966. In that year an independent observer who acknowledged the steps taken by the Department to initiate community development, went on to comment that there did not appear to be an "appreciation at Government, or any other, level of the full potentialities of the Community Development approach. It is something new that has to be worked for."[3] Within two years, however, the situation had changed decisively. Community development was no longer considered experimental; it was openly acknowledged by Government to be an important feature of national development strategy;[4] and there had been major increases in the allocation of resources to the Department.[5] Three main factors, which though closely inter-related may be distinguished separately, accounted for this development: the 1966-67 Ipelegeng programme; the increasing influence of

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1 See above, pp.365-366.
2 A point recently recognised by the United Kingdom Government which established a Central Planning Unit to counteract the tendency. Michael Shanks, "Exploring Mr Heath's new Corridors of Power", The Times, 19 October 1970, p.23.
3 Donald Curtis, "Community Development in Bechuanaland", 1966 (typescript). Curtis was a teacher at Swaneng Hill School, Serowe, who had been involved in the creation of a development studies component in the secondary school syllabus.
4 National Development Plan 1968-1973, pp.62-63.
5 The Departmental vote for 1968-1969 was R134,663. National Accounts 1968-1969, p.22.

the Democratic Party Government; and the evolution of inter-sectoral development planning. The third influence has already been discussed in the preceding section, but it is necessary to emphasise the first two.

The Influence of the Ipelegeng Programme. Discussing one of Botswana's four national principles, self-reliance, President Khama spoke in 1970 as follows:

> I believe all African countries are increasingly recognising the importance of this principle. In Botswana our dedication to self-reliance stems from the self-help efforts of the famine period, which we called "Ipelegeng". In Tanzania the same principle is known as "Kujitegemea". In both countries and elsewhere in Africa it means the same thing.... We can only accept this [external] aid with a good conscience and with self-respect if we make the maximum use of all our own resources, not least our human resources.[1]

Notwithstanding its drawbacks[2] the Ipelegeng programme, because it had operated on a nation-wide basis, had brought home to political leaders in particular, but also to civil servants and to other people concerned with the problems of development, a realisation of the potential of the human resources of the country in a more effective way than mere discussion could have done. In particular it had demonstrated the enormous contribution that local effort could make towards the development of rural infrastructure. As a consequence the climate of opinion in Government became more receptive to and interested in programmes and methods of development which involved the ordinary Batswana villagers to a greater degree than had been the case previously. Naturally, therefore, the role of the Department of Community Development began to be viewed in a new light: it was increasingly regarded as a factor to be considered

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1 "Botswana's Foreign Policy", Address by President Khama to the Democratic Party Conference, Molepolole, 28 March 1970.
2 These have been discussed above, pp.236-241.

in any discussion of methods and programmes of local development. It was but a short step from this position to an appreciation that if community development was to become effective in this evolving and wider role then, amongst other measures, the resources of the Department would require considerable strengthening. As we have already seen, increasing support for community development, in terms both of financial allocation and administrative arrangements, was a marked feature of the period 1967-1970.[1] Community development cannot become fully effective in the context of national development as long as it is regarded as, and operates purely within the confines of, a sectoral activity conducted in relative isolation from other development agencies. The heightened awareness of this point on the part of the political and civil service leadership which the Ipelegeng programme helped to bring about, and which was reflected in the 1968 survey of attitudes,[2] was thus a crucial development.

The Influence of the Democratic Party Government. The Ipelegeng programme also contributed to the evolution of community development, indirectly, through its weaknesses. Its bias towards capital projects, and its failure to include a systematic element of adult education for self-reliance, both inevitable in the circumstances of 1966-1967, drew attention to the need to balance short-term gains against long-term development. This is not merely a departmental issue. As the quotation above from President Khama's speech indicates, self-reliance as a characteristic of a society or a principle of government goes far beyond local self-help projects. It is axiomatic that a Department of Community

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1 See Chapter 7 above, pp.244-300.
2 See above, pp.325-343.

Development should be so organised as to contribute effectively to the development of this self-reliance, but it will only be enabled to do so in the context of a total governmental operation directed towards the same end. To take a negative example, in Rhodesia, although until at least the mid-1960's much community development work was competently and devotedly carried out resulting in effective development of self-reliance on a local basis, community development amongst politically aware Africans became largely discredited because the boundaries of self-reliance for Africans envisaged by the Government were so local, and hence in terms of both personal and national development, inhibiting. In contrast to this example, in Botswana the emergence of an increasingly favourable context for community development was a concomitant of the growth of political influence over public administration.

In a discussion of political responsibility in Botswana we need to remember that this is a very recent development. Until 1961 the administration of the Territory was entirely a civil service responsibility. Internal self-government was achieved in 1965 and Independence in 1966. The different attitudes to community development on the part of Batswana representatives from those of civil servants during this period make the time-scale significant. When the first practical proposals for community development were made in 1963, the Batswana members of the Legislative Council grasped the essential philosophy and potential value of the new approach far more readily than had the senior civil servants,[1] who were at the time almost exclusively expatriates. In the writer's experience this distinction between group attitudes was valid until at least the end of 1966. However, as effective control of the direction and method

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1 See above, pp.183-184.

of governmental activity passed increasingly to political representatives, the climate for the growth of community development as an arm of government improved. Put another way, it is clear that the evolving pattern of community development has over the period 1965-1970 become more and more closely influenced by and connected to the policy of the Democratic Party Government. Community development was accepted as an aspect of Party policy as early as 1965. That the effect of this commitment was delayed for some years was partially due to the pressure of work involved in the preparations for Independence, a pressure rendered more acute by the widespread drought of 1965 and 1966. It was also partly due to the nature of the Party itself which was, and remains, evolutionary rather than revolutionary, more pragmatic than ideological. Considering these characteristics in the context of the Party's first experience of executive government, it is quite logical that reforms in many sectors of government were not introduced immediately. The effect of this was that the influence of the civil service vis à vis that of the Party over the actual programmes of government was initially maintained. In little over a year after Independence, however, the Government had clarified for itself many of its objectives and had developed its self-confidence and was consequently able to exert a tighter grip over the direction of governmental activity. By the end of 1967, as Ipelegeng declined, conditions for the long-term growth of community development had become very favourable. Greatly increased resources were made available and for the first time the Department was freed from the interruptions to its steady evolution which had been a feature of the period 1963-1966.

IMPLICATIONS

The Botswana Case in International Perspective

In the earlier part of this thesis considerable emphasis was laid

on the lack of commitment to development in Bechuanaland until the 1960's, the poor response by the Protectorate Administration to the several Colonial Office initiatives on mass education and community development in the 1940's and 1950's, and the consequent gap of over a decade between the acceptance of community development as a government function in most British African colonies and its acceptance in Botswana. In these assessments use was being made of two implicit models, which we may describe as the "Colonial Office model" and the "British African model". It is contended that, considering the relevant political and geographical circumstances, such an approach was logical and realistic. However it has strict limitations. The active period of the Colonial Office in African community development was from the mid-1940's to the mid-1950's, after which its interest and influence began to decline. Concurrent with this decline comparative information on community development began to become available: concerning the Indian Community Development Programme; the work of the US Agency for International Development in Latin America and South-east Asia; and also the French concept of animation. The United Nations increasingly became the clearing-house for the dissemination and distillation of this international experience. Consequently it is possible, and indeed appropriate, to consider national community development programmes during the 1960's in an international context.

In a most useful paper Hardy Wickwar, Professor of Political Science at the University of South Carolina, has summarised some of the changing features in the evolution of community development. He distinguishes the 1960's pattern from that of the 1950's. The earlier decade, he points out:

> had seen the conscious propagation of distinct and distinctive Indo-American, British and French stereotypes.... The 1960's have seen a set of spontaneous

> indigenous reactions but in spite of their lack of common organisation, they show a surprising degree of pattern.[1]

Because of the late start of community development in Botswana, the policy and programme evolved in the context of international experience in the 1960's and consequently the pattern of development was less strongly influenced by the "British school" than it had been in other African colonies. It is true that its antecedents in community education and its early association with a Social Welfare Department did have a lot in common with these other countries, but characteristics are also evident which reflect the pattern of the 1960's rather than that of the 1950's.

In the first place the British school of the 1950's had heavily emphasised the importance of government responding to local initiative and the meeting of "felt needs", there being comparatively little attention to the relationship between these phenomena on the one hand and concepts of social equality, the assessment of district or regional needs, and national development goals on the other. In Botswana, however, community development was seen at an early stage in the context of national development and district development planning.[2] Secondly, in the 1950's, although it was quite widely recognised that community development was ultimately part of a political process, this association was interpreted in vague terms and the concentration on improving standards of living through practical projects often tended to obscure its implications. In Botswana, however, as we have noted above, Democratic Party leaders and members swiftly became involved in community development and were able

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1 Hardy Wickwar, "Community Development Administration in the 1960's", International Review of Administrative Sciences, 34, 3, 1968, pp.225-232.

2 See above, pp. 226-227.

to exert a steadily increasing influence on its interpretation. This distinction is a basic one and is most obviously accounted for by the different stages of constitutional development at which community development was introduced. In Botswana this happened on the eve of Independence when the Democratic Party assumed control of internal affairs. Community development thus fitted in well with the nation-building political message of the Democratic Government. In Kenya and Tanganyika, to take two examples, Community Development organisation was introduced over a decade before independence, and was thus less able to be identified with the political aspirations of the people. We may generalise further that for community development to be linked with these aspirations it must evolve in the context of a representative government and, conversely, that under a colonial or non-representative regime its political role is ipso facto inhibited.

A third area of distinction is in the relationship between community development and social welfare. It will be remembered that, following the influence of the "Ghana model",[1] many British territories in the 1950's linked the two closely together. In Tanganyika for some years the combined department was named "Social Development" in recognition of the link and the unified concept envisaged at the 1954 Ashridge Conference.[2] In Botswana, however, the opportunity to place Community Development in the Ministry of Labour and Social Services in 1965 was deliberately eschewed in favour of locating it in the Ministry of Local Government,[3] where it has since remained. Many aspects of the Depart-

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1 See above, p.78.
2 See above, p.90.
3 See above, pp.244-247.

ment's work did, of course, retain close links with social services - indeed much of its programme in women's work, adult literacy, recreation and youth services could naturally be described as social service. The significant point is that there was a conviction that organised community development should not be limited to this sphere, and that as it evolved it could more effectively contribute to modernisation strategies if it was attached to a Ministry with inter-sectoral responsibilities. Botswana thus reflected the general pattern of the 1960's, which showed:

> a marked tendency to locate community development in the same central ministry as is responsible for such other basic institutional innovations as local government, or to associate it with central planning or top-level co-ordination.[1]

The Role of the District Administrator in Community Development.

Wickwar comments that although "paternalistic" district officers had often encouraged community development activities, "the relationship of the regular administrative hierarchy to community development in the 1950's was far from clear."[2] This was probably less true in British Africa than elsewhere, but even there the comment held a degree of validity. The situation arose from a combination of four factors: the social welfare link which virtually always led to the establishment of a separate Department of Community Development;[3] the need for training a cadre of officers to sponsor community development at district level; the philosophy that the community development officer had a prime function to "co-ordinate"; and the common lack of integration between the

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1 Wickwar, op.cit., p.227.
2 Wickwar, op.cit., p.230.
3 Though British policy from Creech Jones' 1948 Despatch to the Colonial Office Handbook in 1958 (p.7) had consistently taken the view that community development did not necessarily require its own department of government.

community development programme and the local authority structure.[1] The net result was that community development at district level often became a function quite distinct from that of district administration, a paradoxical outcome in view both of the Colonial Office's earlier intention and also the active participation of many district officers in mass education-community development in the 1940's.

In Botswana in the middle 1960's, the District Commissioner's role in community development was not regularised. However in 1970 he was given a central place in its operation. There is at least an *a priori* case for arguing that the acute lack of professional Community Development staff with adequate status and ability at district level, a phenomenon not unknown elsewhere,[2] has made it easier for the District Commissioner to assume this new role. Community development is now, at least in theory and in structure, fully integrated with development administration.

It is not irrelevant to suggest here that a most fruitful area of research in community development would be to examine it in terms of the role of the district administrator.[3] Many of the current issues could be given realistic treatment in this way: the local-national polarity; questions of conflict and consensus; the extent to which community development is expressed as a social service on the one hand or an aspect of administration on the other; the sectoral-integrative dimension. There could be valuable spin-offs, in terms of: the relationship between development and administration; the nature of authority in

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1 Du Sautoy even went so far as to say that they should *not* be associated. See his *Organisation of a Community Development Programme* (Oxford University Press, 1962), p.23.

2 It is a feature of community development in Malawi for example. Personal communication, J.A.K. Kandawire, formerly CDO (Evaluation), Malawi Government.

3 Or the equivalent local agent of central government.

the context of national development; personality factors and the role of training; and the functional constraints affecting relationships between government officials in both the vertical and horizontal discussions. Such areas of research provide ample scope for Wickwar's contention that community development has now become so much part of the political system that its study requires the attention of political scientists as much as that of rural sociologists.[1]

The Interpretation of Community Development

In the Introduction to this study it was stated that the view is taken that it is not possible to identify "right" or "wrong" policies and strategies in community development.[2] An attempt has been made in the body of the study to explain why decisions of policy and organisation were made and what were the effects of those decisions. The difficulty of making firm value-judgments in relation to community development is that, as also pointed out in the Introduction,[3] opinions as to what role community development *should* play differ so markedly. Differing emphases in interpretation may be determined by a person's role in the social and organisational structure of the country. At least five models are likely to occur in a developing country with a large Community Development organisation:

1 The professional Community Development worker may regard his agency as providing a particular method whereby social and economic development in any sphere is achieved, especially in the rural areas.

2 The Ministry of Development Planning (or equivalent) may value community development mainly as a means of obtaining

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1 Wickwar, *op.cit.*, p.228.
2 See above, p.7.
3 See above, pp.13-17.

a higher degree of local co-operation in the achievement of specific improvements, often predetermined from above, in the rural infrastructure. This is a common approach of economists, and caused difficulty, for example, with the early reports of the Indian Programme Evaluation Organisation, which were predominantly concerned with physical targets.

3 Other technical and extension departments may regard the Community Development agency as an "interfering" or "competing" organisation; an attitude which would imply less than full co-operation.[1] Problems in this regard can be particularly acute where, as in Botswana, Community Development personnel are often of lower educational or professional status than technical officials whose work they are supposed to "co-ordinate".

4 Politicians are likely to concentrate on other aspects. Members of the ruling party will be interested in the role of community development in nation-building, and will emphasise its ideological components, particularly in respect of the development of self-reliance and national unity. Opposition members, where permitted, are tempted both to criticise community development for short-changing electors by attempting development "on the cheap" and also to use the methods and structures of community development against the established authority.

5 Villagers, who are in effect the "object" of community development programmes, are quite likely to make no distinction between community development and development. In many cases their only direct contact with "development" will have been through the medium of Community Development personnel.

The list is by no means exhaustive. It is sufficient, however, to illustrate the point that although the basic ideas of community

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1 In fact, in the Botswana survey of attitudes described in Chapter 8 only one respondent registered such an opinion. This cannot, of course, be taken to mean that such attitudes do not exist there.

development may be simple, their implementation in the context of national development presents complex dilemmas. A particular problem of current concern in developing countries, which underlies the variety of attitudes mentioned and which is likely to become more rather than less persistent as public political sensitivity increases, is the lack of a generally acceptable boundary between what is described as "community development" and what is indicated by the more general term "development". The dilemma can be found in the case of Botswana, especially in respect of events in the second half of the 1960's. As community development is drawn more closely into the development administration framework its separate identity becomes blurred. Community development as a distinctive and distinguishable feature of government may even disappear altogether when its agency and personnel are re-named, as in Tanzania where they are subsumed in the Rural Development organisation. This process of osmosis, which is now becoming apparent in Botswana, raises inter-linked issues which we need to discuss further: the distinction between community development as a professional practice and as a strategy for development; the relationship between central and sectoral functions; and finally the philosophical and ideological assumptions which underpin major decisions of policy and organisation.

The Professional Practice - Development Strategy Dichotomy. This was recognised by the 1962 Cambridge Conference on Administration.[1] In the first category is found the work of Community Development field staff, establishing and servicing development committees, promoting and training youth and women's organisations, and organising adult education

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1 See above, p. 352.

and self-help activities. In the latter category are: the role of community development in national development strategy; its relationship with other government agencies; the question of co-ordinating machinery for development planning; the orientation of MP's and government officials to a community development approach; the understanding and support of the national leaders; the structure of district development administration; and the role of the District Commissioners, to name some of the more important aspects. In Botswana, the forerunner of community development, namely welfare, was confined almost entirely in the first category with the Welfare Officer acting as his own field-worker. By the mid-1960's an embryonic recognition of the difference between the two roles became apparent as a deliberate attempt was made to distinguish field activities from the evolution of a viable policy. Policy, the Community Development Officer pointed out, should be decided by the political leaders and not by the Department.[1] However, understanding of the inter-departmental implications of community development on the part of Democratic Party leaders and senior ministerial officials could have grown more rapidly had the Community Development Officer directed more of his attention in this direction. The need to create that understanding was subsequently appreciated by the Commissioner of Community Development in 1968.[2]

It is helpful at this point in the argument to use for comparative purposes the analysis of community work in Great Britain undertaken by the Gulbenkian study group. The Study Group identified three aspects of the work: grass-roots work with community groups; inter-agency co-ordination; and social planning.[3] The first may be roughly equated

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1 See above, pp.206-207.
2 See above, p.295.
3 Calouste Gulbenkian Study Group, Community Work and Social Change (London: Longman, 1968), pp.30-34.

in the Botswana setting with face-to-face activities such as village self-help projects, home economics training, youth club work and adult literacy classes; the second with the establishment of Village Development Committees, and the co-ordination of women's work and youth programmes; the third with nation-building as a strategy, with the attempts to include public participation as an element in development planning, and with the arrangements to integrate development programmes at district and national level. Although the Gulbenkian Group submitted that the three functions are often inter-woven,[1] it is by no means clear that the average functionary will be competent in them all. Indeed in the Botswana situation, this is highly unlikely to be the case. Quite apart from the constraints of a low salary and comparatively rudimentary living conditions, the abilities which make for an effective village-level worker are not those which make for an effective district planner and co-ordinator, though it is conceded that a similar approach to human relations is desirable in both situations. This distinction accounts for both the poor response rate of community development field workers to the survey of attitudes described in Chapter 8 above,[2] as well as the apparent difficulty with the questions experienced by those who did respond, since the survey concentrated on planning and strategic aspects of community development.

A logical extension of the argument in the above paragraph is that in addition to the inability of an individual functionary to cover all the dimensions of community development, no single organisation, however monolithic, can expect to do so on a nation-wide or even district-wide basis. The failure to appreciate this inherent limitation and the consequent difficulty of distinguishing community development as a process

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1 Ibid., p.35.
2 See above, 307-308.

policy, strategy or method on the one hand from the organisation which boasts the title "Community Development" on the other, has led to much lack of clarity in settling upon realistic organisational goals, with consequent loss of effectiveness. It thus helps to explain why the achievements of Community Development organisations so often fall far short of expectations, which in turn leads to unfair and ill-directed criticismsof the performance of these organisations. The dichotomy between policy and organisation is evident in Botswana. For example, although an objective of community development is to integrate the life of local communities into that of the nation[1] and another is to encourage public participation in development planning,[2] clearly the Department of Community Development is not the only agency concerned with these objectives. Alternatively, starting from the premise that co-ordination between agencies is an essential principle of community development, does it follow that the Department of Community Development is the main agency responsible for achieving co-ordination? The answer in Botswana is clearly in the negative, as it would be in most countries with "adaptive"[3] community development programmes. In a country such as Thailand, with an "integrative"[4] Community Development structure, the answer might be in the affirmative. In the latter case, however, suspicions are raised as to what extent this position has been achieved at the expense of other community development principles such as the development of self-reliance and genuine "planning from below".

These considerations lead us naturally to the question of the relationship between central and sectoral functions in community development.

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1 UN, Community Development and National Development (New York, 1963), p.4.
2 Ibid., p.27.
3 Ibid., p.61.
4 Ibid., p.60.

The Central - Sectoral Dichotomy. The Botswana case raises the issue of the countervailing pressures exerted in a community development programme between what may be described as central and sectoral functions, which approximate very roughly to integrative and adaptive programmes respectively in United Nations terminology. Some of the operational difficulties imposed by this divergence have been discussed in Chapter 8.[1] It is necessary to emphasise again here that the differences between the two functions are fundamental. Central or intersectoral functions include: the creation and servicing of Village and District Development Committees; local fact-finding; adult education in the sense of creating a more receptive human environment for change; community organisation and institution-building in any field; the promotion of public participation in development planning; and general coordinatory functions in both horizontal and vertical dimensions. Such a spread of responsibilities alone imposes a tremendous burden on a national-level organisation and its personnel. The difficulties and tensions are multiplied when the organisation also carries sectoral functions. In African community development these have commonly included, as in Botswana: women's work and home economics; youth work; adult literacy; craftwork and cottage industries; recreational, cultural and social activities; self-help construction work; and often, especially in urban areas, social welfare in the technical sense. As the early chapters of this study show, historical reasons influenced this selection and those, at least, which may be classified under the heading "social development activities" do have some group cohesion. However, the point to note in the present argument is that there is no inherent reason why they should be any more closely involved with community

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1 See above, pp. 334-337.

development in the broad sense of the term[1] than should, for example, co-operatives, agricultural extension, public health, the organisation of rural education, land reform, environmental conservation, town planning or industrial relations. That Departments of Community Development are involved in this way in sectoral functions - and the effect would be basically the same if their attachments were in the fields mentioned in the second list - induces in them inevitable schizophrenic symptoms, with consequent reduction in effectiveness. An agency cannot operate efficiently on two different, and in some ways conflicting, planes at the same time. It cannot be simultaneously both a parallel organisation to other departments, running its own extension programme - whether it be in home economics or animal health - and also a "super-ministry" acting as a general government-people link, responsible for holistic co-ordination of services.[2]

The implications of this argument for policy formulation are illustrated by the Botswana experience. Until at least 1968, and probably until 1970, although the Department of Community Development was undertaking inter-sectoral functions, its policy emanated from a sectoral source, namely the Department itself and the Ministry of Local Government and Lands. We can generalise from this illustration as follows. If a Community Development organisation is to act as a multi-purpose extension agent or as an inter-departmental co-ordinator, or indeed undertake any other central function, then its policy and strategy must be worked out in an integrative manner at supra-ministerial level and must have

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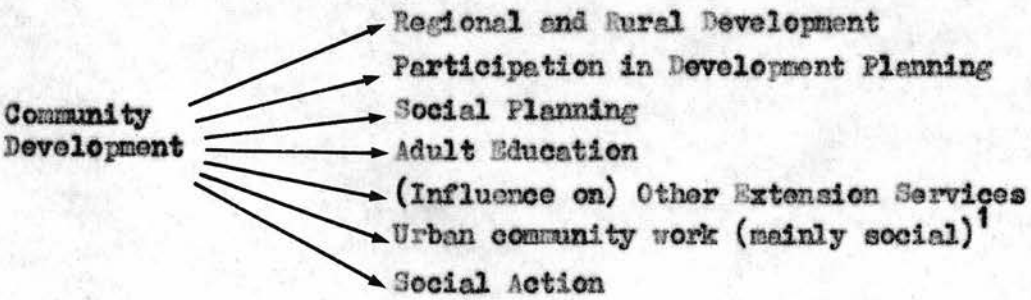
1 As for example in the United Nations definition quoted above on pp.10-11.
2 W.A. Lewis, op.cit., pp.224-246, has highlighted the conflicting pressures in a similar combination (and confusion) of responsibilities in the field of planning.

authority over other agencies; if on the other hand it is only running a sectoral programme of its own then the constraints of consultation and co-ordination imposed upon it need be no more than those which apply to parallel organisations.

An even more general implication from the arguments of the two preceding sections concerns the future of community development. It would appear that the time is approaching in Botswana - possibly within the next five years - and has already arrived in more advanced African countries, when terminological changes in regard to community development need to be considered. Such changes need to reflect realistically the distribution of principles and practice. Although community development as an inclusive concept has made a major contribution to national development both in Botswana and other English-speaking African countries, there are increasing signs that it cannot continue indefinitely to be a meaningful term in its inclusive sense - the arguments above reflect this tendency. In short, its contribution has become fragmented by assimilation into other aspects of public administration and indeed into social processes outwith the governmental function. We have seen how this assimilation process has operated in Botswana in the changing relationship of community development to development administration: as the former is drawn into the latter its own particular contribution and identity are thereby reduced. On an international basis, the diagram below suggests the directions of this process of fragmentation:



1 The experience of community development would suggest that the possibilities of community work in Britain, for example, developing as an inclusive concept at all levels are limited.

This schema is undoubtedly an over-simplification, and the task of examining and refining it cannot be done in this study. Nevertheless such a task is much needed if the valuable experience gained through community development programmes is to be used in ways appropriate to new situations. It is suggested that the result of such an exercise would be to reveal community development as a most influential factor in the evolution of modern government and social development in many developing countries. The contribution of community development as an inclusive concept would be adequately recognised in the historical context and the lessons gained from its experience could be drawn upon selectively in a wide variety of fields, but there would be no need to adhere to outmoded terminology. Such an approach would appear to be more flexible, realistic and relevant to the needs of the present and the future than the recent approach of the United Nations, which has continued to group the increasingly disparate elements of community development under one collective label.[1]

In the case of Botswana such an open-minded analysis might lead to one agency dealing with sectoral functions probably in the sphere of social development, and another agency undertaking central functions, either in the Ministry of Local Government or possibly, as suggested in the 1968 survey,[2] in the President's Office. The organisation of the adult education element would present problems: its emphasis would depend upon the degree of propaganda and convergence desired by the Government in power. This latter point rests, as indeed do most of the issues in the practice-strategy dichotomy and the central-sectoral dichotomy, upon basic ideological assumptions.

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1 UN, Public Participation in Development: Current Trends in Community Development (New York, 1971).
2 See above, p.339.

The Conformity - Divergence Dichotomy. The differing conceptual bases of Western democracy on the one hand and Third World ideology on the other have already been discussed.[1] Accepting the latter as the general context for analysis of the current Botswana situation, ideological dilemmas of fundamental significance for the organisation of community development still remain. The current national development plan spells out in greater detail than ever before the objectives of development in Botswana, the priorities amongst these, the principles upon which they are based, and the strategies which are to be employed.[2] It emphasises that people must be "persuaded" to co-operate in the implementation of these strategies.[3] We need also to bear in mind that the Government puts great stress on national unity. This strong determination and direction raises a fundamental issue for the Department of Community Development: is it merely to use its resources and skills to assist in the attainment of national objectives, or should it be in a position to encourage diversity and independent action on the part of local or particular, especially minority, groups? The question reflects the new status of the Department. Much of this study has dealt with the process by which community development moved from being marginal and uninfluential to being rather essential and influential. The Department now faces the dilemma: if it becomes further assimilated in the framework of development administration and hence presumably more effective in contributing to national development as currently conceived, will it find that it is no longer able to assist the causes of those communities, either geographic or functional, which do not see eye to eye with the

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1 See above, pp.13-15. Hunter (1970), op.cit., pp.117-121 also discusses this point helpfully in relation to rural development in India.
2 National Development Plan 1970-1975.
3 Ibid. Introduction by Q.K.J. Masire, Vice-President and Minister of Development Planning.

national development plan? No doubt the Department will long continue to be concerned with public participation in development planning, but its position in the government machine, and the emphasis given in its objectives, will affect the way it interprets participation: as meek compliance or lively self-determination. In the earlier chapters of the study reference was made several times to the gap between the thinking of those attempting to promote welfare and community development on the one hand, and the senior members of the Administration of the Protectorate on the other. Since Independence that gap has narrowed so that today it is no longer realistic to talk in terms of a division between the Department and the higher echelons of Government on any major matter of policy. This is entirely desirable in respect of the development of integration of the governmental effort, but for a Department of Community Development it must raise questions of principle. One example will illustrate the dilemma. The national development plan calls for the fastest possible economic growth.[1] There is a growing body of opinion in the world today which questions this, in terms of such vital issues as environmental conservation, social structure and personal relationships. The Department has been closely involved in the development of voluntary organisations in the country, and has special concern with the training and education element in these organisations. Should its task be to persuade people to implement the national plan or to query it?

It would be going too far to state that the polarity is between consensus or conflict models of society. Nevertheless community development must be considered within such a context. In the case of Botswana and many English-speaking African countries, community development agencies

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1 Ibid.

must keep asking themselves what balance they should strike between encouraging conformity and encouraging negotiation on the part of the public. The answers are, or should be, major determinants in settling issues of policy and organisation.

APPENDICES

AND

SOURCES

APPENDIX I (fold out)

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX I

OUTLINE OF POST-SCHOOLROOM EDUCATION FOR NATIVES UNDER UNION CONDITIONS

THE FIRST CONCERN OF THE ADULT IS THE BUSINESS OF LIVING

How to live wisely

Uses and abuses of money
Protective Foods
Hygiene
Family Budgets
What and how to Buy
Savings and PO Savings Bank
Honesty
Marriage and Family Life
Children
Clothes, Rent
Transport
Use of substitutes
Price Control - War
Cost of Living - War
Rationing - War
Economy - War
Use of Leisure
How to help yourself

How to live collectively

Law and Order
Crimes and the duty of the individual to the community
Courts and procedure at court
Tribal Law
Urban communal life
Infectious diseases
Their prevention and cure
Health and Health Services
Education
Communal grazing
Prevention of stock diseases
Trade Unions
Their uses and abuses
Co-operative Societies

How to live progressively

Stock improvement
Agricultural improvement
Soil erosion
Health and happiness
General Knowledge
Appreciation of the time factor
Ability and service
Reliability and service
Loyalty and service
Housing
Responsibility of the individual to the community
How to help your fellows

FROM THE BACKGROUND OF A WIDER AND DEEPER KNOWLEDGE OF THE BUSINESS OF LIVING COMES THE NEXT STAGE IN ADULT EDUCATION:

THE BUSINESS OF BEING GOVERNED

Why we are governed

Tribal Laws and Wars
Similar European background
The evolution of Western

How we are governed as a people

Background of history in Europe
Background of history in the Union
The Governor-General

Government in rural and urban areas

Provincial authority
Municipal and local authority
Urban Administration

APPENDIX II

Duties of a special officer for Mass Education, as recommended by the Conference of Education Officers of the High Commission Territories, 3-8 September 1944:

(a) to study the requirements of a programme of Mass Education suited to the needs of the Territory;

(b) to survey and advise on whatever elements of such a programme are already in existence;

(c) to prepare, in consultation with all the various Departments and organisations involved, including especially African authorities and organisations, a draft programme of action together with recommendations regarding -
  (i) the staff required and its training
  (ii) the aids required

(d) to submit an estimate of the expenditure involved.

(Source: BNA 364/1, vol.1.)

APPENDIX III

Memorandum on Serowe Social Centre

1. This project, which is designed to include a Social Centre comprising a Hall and woodwork room, library, health centre, and two houses for staff, has evolved over a period of some 5 years.

2. The initiative and enthusiasm has come from a voluntary committee of local residents. Much of the drive has come from Mrs Khama who has been very determined to see the realisation of her idea, and who has been to the forefront in the fund-raising activities.

3. The idea of the Centre and the efforts of many volunteers deserve much congratulation, and I feel that official encouragement is very desirable. However, some points should be mentioned.

4. Social work experience has shown that community projects such as this centre have a better chance of success if they arise as the result of the expressed desires and action of the majority (or a large proportion) of the community that intends to use the facilities. For example, some of the most lively youth clubs in Britain began with no proper club building, and it was the enthusiasm of the members themselves which led to the construction of suitable premises, in many cases actually built by such members. The building was in fact theirs, so the question of attracting members to it did not arise. I should point out that there are plenty of instances of the same process working in African communities.

5. In the case of the Social Centre, this principle does not apply, or at least only to a limited extent. One of the reasons for this is that the Committee has been mostly composed of people whose origins are outside Serowe, or who differ from the majority of the population in important respects e.g. Government servants. It is probably true to say that the active support for the Centre comes from a fairly small number of people, and that the mass of the population has no active desire to complete the project.

6. The result of this may be that we find a beautiful building erected and that we are then faced with a tremendous problem of how to use it. To make proper use of it it is then necessary to employ a man on a fairly high wage to answer these problems. His presence is necessary because there is not enough widespread support to run the Centre on a voluntary basis.

7. This brings us to finance. As stated above the Committee did well to raise £1,000 in five years, but it may find itself having financial difficulty in the future. OXFAM have given £8,600, Mr. Betts (OXFAM Field Director) having advised that a big, architect designed project was more likely to receive support than a more humble scheme. For reasons suggested above I think that such advice was in some ways faulty, for although it obtained the funds, it has committed the Committee /sic/ to an expensive project which will not only be costly to maintain but which may only (initially anyway) have the support of a limited group. Although I have no details, I have been informed by Mr. Bill Taylor (Independent Community Development Worker assisting the scheme) that maintenance costs are likely to be not less than £500 per year.

8. Staff and Housing. The Health Centre Supervisor is at present paid a salary in the region of £800 by the Tribal Treasury. To date (I believe he has been employed about one year) I would be hesitant to say that his work justifies such a salary, since the activity at the Health Centre - selling fortified meal, soup powder etc - could easily be done by a man with far less educational background and on a much lower wage. If he is to be made the best use of, he should be employed on the educational side of health, hygiene and nutrition. Since he is an intelligent and well paid person he should be able to work out a training schedule, though I shall be glad to assist with advice regarding social aspects of his work, and I am sure that if approached the Medical Department, especially the Medical Officer of Health, would do so on technical matters.

9. I have made some comments about the employment of a Social Worker. The Committee has, on 18th October 1963, decided that it wants a qualified Social Worker and is prepared to pay £30 to £40 per month for a two year contract. At £40 this would be £480 p.a., to be covered by £600 from the Rowntree Trust and £400 from Government for the two year period.

10. It is intended to build two houses costing £2100 each, for these two staff. To my mind this is quite definitely an unnecessary expense which is hard to justify. Compare this (i.e. £4200) with £5000 spent at Swaneng School, out of which quarters have been built for at least 4 members of staff, as well as classrooms and a considerable amount of other work done in making fences, kraals etc. Simpler houses, using local materials and local builders and craftsmen, could be erected at half the cost. I did not mention this to the Committee since I was not invited to comment in general, but I did tell Mr. Taylor, who sits on the Committee.

(Attached to communication from Social Welfare Officer to D.C. Serowe, dated 21 October 1963.)

APPENDIX IV

Bechuanaland Protectorate

Vacancies for Community Development Assistants

Applications are invited for several posts as Community Development Assistants, male and female, in the Social Welfare Department, which are anticipated for April 1964.

Salary

Government scale C.4.3.2.1., with minimum starting salary R492 rising by annual increments to R1272. Incremental credit will be given for relevant experience.

Qualifications

Candidates should be not less than 25 years old, and should have a minimum qualification of Standard VI, and preferably Junior Certificate. Personal qualities are particularly important, especially leadership and the ability to work with the public and voluntary leaders. Preference will be given to married couples, where both husband and wife are suitably qualified for employment. Vocational training or experience in a related field e.g. teaching, extension work, local government etc., which involves dealing with the public, will be an advantage. Candidates must be prepared to serve in remote areas. Fluent Tswana and English essential. Preference will be given to local candidates.

Duties

The successful candidates will first attend a course of training in Tanganyika, and will then be posted to selected rural areas to encourage local initiative, organise literacy campaigns, mass education for women, village self-help schemes and to work in development schemes in liaison with Government and local authority staff. They will be given grants to construct their own houses.

Applicants should write as soon as possible to the Social Welfare Officer, P.O. Box 80, Lobatsi, Bechuanaland Protectorate, and in any case to reach him not later than 1st March 1964. They should send brief details of age, education, occupation and experience, together with a letter in their own handwriting, explaining fully their interest in and suitability for the post.

Applications from serving officers must be sent through Heads of Departments or District Commissioners.

APPENDIX V

To the Editor
Community Development Newsletter

A Bar to the Success of Community Development in Small Villages

The success of Community Development Assistants or of the Committees they form is often hampered by a strong spirit of tribal belief in smaller villages. Here old people still think that any good work especially leadership in any small or big organisation must be from the Headman or somebody related to him. Hence it is often found that leaders of Village Development Committees are not influential. Even if this is well expounded it is very difficult or impossible to erase this belief from the old brains.

Personally I think to achieve anything at all where village development committees are formed, the majority of the members must be the young brains of the village. These will easily agree with modern ideas and will also easily convince their Headman. In most cases once the Headman is convinced, the whole village is the same.

Having old people in Development Committees is without gain, because they do not understand what community development is, or what fruits it will bring to the community and at last to the country at large.

E.M. Dewah
(Animal Husbandry Extension Agent,
Bokaa Village)

(Source: CD Newsletter, 1, 3, October 1965, p.11.)

APPENDIX VI

SUMMARY OF IPELEGENG PROJECTS AT 31 MARCH 1967

Type of Project	Completed by 31 March 1967		In Progress 31 March 1967		Planned for Completion by 30 June 1967	
	Number of Projects	Number of Units	Number of Projects	Number of Units	Number of Projects	Number of Units
Soil and Water Conservation and Dams	41	41	67	72	49	49
Wells	4	4	-	-	-	-
Classrooms	18	29	62	97	50	72
School Repairs	4	7	1	1	1	1
School Kitchens	2	2	2	10	1	6
Teachers Quarters	36	97	64	137	39	77
Repairs to Quarters	1	2	1	1	1	1
Teachers Kitchens	4	8	-	-	-	-
Clinics/Dispensaries	4	4	16	16	10	10
Council Buildings	24	37	21	23	15	15
Latrines	7	21	24	233	17	155
Food Stores	30	33	48	49	38	38
Social Centres	1	1	2	2	1	1
Brickmaking	24	-	51	-	29	-
Road work	64	241 miles	119	412 miles	66	236 miles
Bridges and Weirs	6	6	4	10	15	21
Land clearance	24	364 acres	7	227 acres	6	206 acres
Afforestation	3	24 acres	1	6 acres	1	6 acres
Village cleaning	10	10	2	2	2	2
Fence erection	-	-	3	3	2	2
Sports fields	1	1	1	1	-	-
Sign posting	1	1	+	+	-	-
Car Park	-	-	1	1	1	1
Tennis courts	-	-	1	2	1	2
Grass/Pole cutting	8	8	1	1	1	1
Water carrying	1	1	-	-	-	-
Govt. Harvesting	2	2	2	2	1	1
Irrigation Work	-	-	1	2 miles	1	2 miles
Youth Training Centre	-	-	1	1	1	1
GRAND TOTAL	320	-	503	-	349	-

(Source: Appraisal Report on WFP Project 323: Community Development and Tsetse Fly Control, July 1967, Appendix 8.)

APPENDIX VII

Duties of a Community Development Assistant 1968

a) To assist village people to discover, analyse, and solve problems affecting their life

b) To develop leadership among people

c) To interpret and disseminate up-to-date factual information on problems that affect people

d) To use approved methods and techniques that will result in the adoption of improved practices

e) To make fullest use of facilities, and services available from other departments

f) To record and evaluate the work being done as a basis for improvement

g) To represent CD Department in the villages

h) To undertake village survey

i) To establish and work with the village development committee

j) To establish youth clubs, women's clubs, and assist them in their activities

k) To guide and assist in self-help projects

l) To undertake local village training programmes

m) To assist the programme under WFP Project 324 [school feeding]

n) To submit monthly, quarterly, and annual reports to ACDO

o) To take up any other work under instructions from ACDO

(Source: Memorandum on Reorganisation of Community Development Department, June 1968.)

APPENDIX VIII

C O M M U N I T Y D E V E L O P M E N T D E P A R T M E N T

P R O J E C T A P P L I C A T I O N F O R M[1]

NAME OF VILLAGE: .....

C.D.A.: ..... DATE: .....

SECTION A

(1) Description of Project: .....

.....

(2) Type of Building: .....

Size: .....

Type of walls (mud/cement/bricks etc.): .....

Type of roof: .....

No. and size of windows: .....

No. of doors: .....

(3) Estimated cost of building:

Materials	....	....	....	....	.....
Artisan	....	....	....	....	.....
Other	....	....	....	....	.....
Total	....	....	....	....	.....

(4) Village Contribution:

Money raised .....

Number of men willing to work .....

Number of women willing to work .....

Any other outside assistance: .....

(5) Proposed starting date: .....

(6) Details of any incomplete projects: .....

....

Chairman of Village Council* C.D.A.

---

1 The spacing of the typescript in this copy is not the same as in the original.

/* It is surprising that the Department should use this phrase. There were no formally constituted village councils, and the person identified here is the chairman of the Village Development Committee./

SECTION B

(1) What were the comments of the relevant departmental representative?

.....

.....

(2) Evaluation of project by A.C.D.O.: .....

.....

(3) What were the comments of the relevant [District] Council Committee?

.....

.....

(4) Can the council assist and, if so, in what way? .....

.....

(5) Is this project being completed under Food for Work? .....

I certify that all relevant persons have been contacted and all sources of assistance investigated.

....
A.C.D.O. Date

SECTION C

Recommendation by local District Council: .....

.....

SECTION D Headquarter use only

Remarks: .....

.....

C.D. Contribution: .....

.....

RECOMMENDED/NOT RECOMMENDED

Signed: ..... Date: .....

APPENDIX IX

c/o Government Archives
PO Box 329
GABERONES

July 1968

As part of a research project sponsored by the University of Edinburgh, I am attempting to obtain the views of Ministers, Members of National Assembly, Permanent Secretaries, Heads of Departments, District Commissioners, Chairmen of local councils, and a few senior officers, in regard to problems of local development, and more particularly community development. For this purpose I am attaching a list of questions, which I hope you will answer.

You will no doubt wish to know the purpose of this research. As you may know, in recent years the United Nations and other international bodies have been encouraging university research which is not only academic, but also action-oriented, and which can be used to assist development work. Thus it is hoped that the thesis which I am engaged on will have some value for future community development policy in Botswana. As community development has been accepted as part of the government's policy, the replies you give will be very useful, although I quite appreciate that some of the questions may appear to be far removed from your normal work or experience.

Can I emphasise that the questions should be answered by you personally, and without consulting any documents (except in the case of Question 20, which requires figures)? Thus, for example, an answer such as "no opinion" or "don't know" is instructive in helping to indicate awareness of certain activities. In all questions, it would be helpful if you could express your opinion as frankly as possible, and if you so wish, do not put your name on the form.

Since I am only in Botswana for a short time I regret that it is not possible for me to visit you to discuss this enquiry further, but if you can spare the half-hour or so to answer the questionnaire, even partially, I will be most grateful. An addressed envelope is enclosed for your reply, which I would like to receive by August 12th.

With thanks for your assistance.

Yours sincerely

Peter Wass

Note Members of National Assembly who are not Ministers should omit Questions 1, 6, 12 (second part), 16, 18, 19(a), and 20.

APPENDIX X

c/o Government Archives
PO Box 239
GABERONES

August 1968

Recently a questionnaire relating to community development was sent to Ministers, Members of Parliament, Permanent Secretaries, Heads of Department, District Commissioners, and Chairmen of local Councils, and it received an encouraging response. Now, with the approval of Mr. Joseph Matsheng, Commissioner of Community Development, I am sending it to certain members of the Department of Community Development, and I would appreciate it if you would favour me with a reply.

You will no doubt wish to know the reason for the survey. As part of a university research project I have been tracing the development of Bechuanaland/Botswana Government thinking over the past thirty years in such fields as mass education, technical education, literacy, welfare, and more recently community development. To complete the picture, some up to date information on the thinking of the community development practitioners themselves is needed. Hence this request to you.

Can I emphasise that the questions should be answered by you personally, preferably without using documents, since the object is to obtain your own personal thoughts and opinions. You will see that some questions have been crossed out - please leave these out. Should you for any reason not wish to answer any of the other questions, then please return the form with just a few of the questions completed.

In all cases where questions refer to development projects etc., please answer in relation to your own practical experience.

Unfortunately it is not possible for me to visit you all personally. However, may I take this opportunity of congratulating you on the significant progress which community development is making, and wishing you continued success in the future.

I would be very grateful if you could sent your replies to me at the above address by September 1st 1968.

With many thanks for your assistance.

Yours sincerely

Peter Wass

APPENDIX XI

c/o Government Archives
PO Box 239
GABERONES

August 1968

You will remember that I wrote to you during July enclosing a questionnaire on community development and related local development problems. The response has been most encouraging so far, and replies have been received from all groups addressed (Ministers, Members of Parliament, Permanent Secretaries, Heads of Departments, District Commissioners and Chairmen of local Councils). But more replies are wanted in order to increase the value of the overall response.

Could you please therefore have another look at the questionnaire? I realise that you will be busy with more pressing business, but it would be greatly appreciated if you could devote a few minutes to a reply. Should you for any reason not wish to answer some of the questions, then please return the form with just a few of the questions completed.

As explained in my first letter, this is not an official survey, but is being conducted by me privately as part of a university research project. I should add however that the questionnaire was cleared with both the Ministry of Local Government and the Department of Community Development, and has their approval.

Please could you note that the PO Box number was wrongly typed in my previous letter, and should be 239 as shown above?

If you have already posted your reply, please ignore this letter and accept my thanks for your co-operation.

Yours sincerely

Peter Wass

APPENDIX XII

c/o Government Archives
PO Box 239
GABERONES

August 1968

Thank you very much for taking the trouble to answer my questionnaire on community development. Your assistance is greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely

Peter Wass

APPENDIX XIII

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT SURVEY

(please note that the sign * means delete as necessary)

Section A. GENERAL

1. In your judgment, what are the most important problems (up to a maximum of three) hindering the successful progress of the work of your Ministry/Department/District/Town?*

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

2. In your judgment, what are the three most important factors that make for effective development projects? In the appropriate boxes below, put "1" for the most important, "2" for the second, "3" for the third.

☐	quality of the staff
☐	prior planning
☐	knowledge of local situation
☐	technical and financial resources
☐	methods that increase local co-operation
☐	attitudes of local population
☐	social structure of local communities
☐	natural resources
☐	other (describe)
☐	.....
☐	.....
☐	.....

3. Many local (i.e. in the districts and villages) conditions can hinder the successful implementation of departmental or district development projects. Indicate which of the items listed below you consider to be

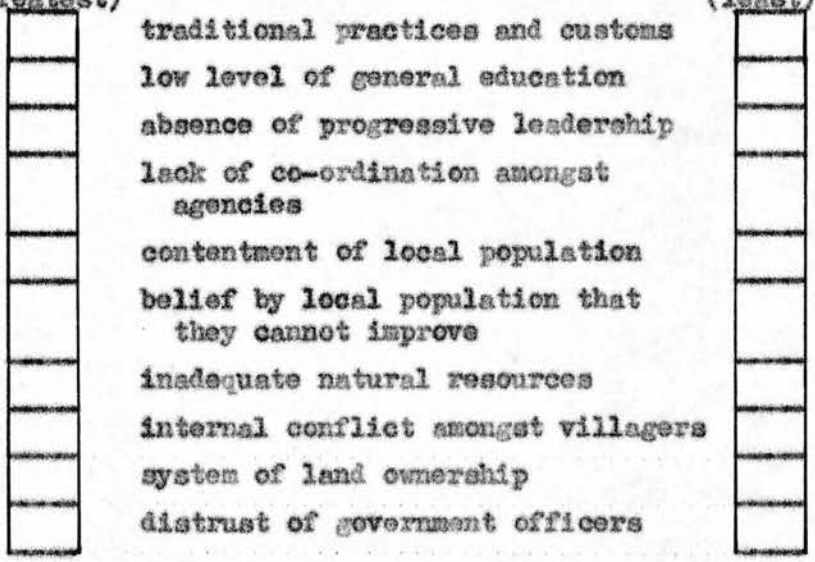
A. the two factors which are the greatest hindrance, (mark "1" and "2" in the appropriate boxes)

and

B. the two factors which are the least hindrance

(N.B. this question is continued overleaf)

3 (continued) A (greatest) B (least)



traditional practices and customs
low level of general education
absence of progressive leadership
lack of co-ordination amongst agencies
contentment of local population
belief by local population that they cannot improve
inadequate natural resources
internal conflict amongst villagers
system of land ownership
distrust of government officers

4. Do you think the machinery for integrated planning and execution of central and local government development programmes is adequate at the following levels?

at national level ..... Yes/No *
at district level ..... Yes/No
at village level ..... Yes/No

5. What improvements would you suggest for better co-ordination? Indicate which level you are referring to.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

6. Do you attempt to include local opinion (i.e. officials and non-officials at district and village level) in preparing your Ministerial/Departmental/District/Town development plans?

Yes/No

if "yes", how do you do this? .....
.....
.....

7. Do you think village level participation in

a) local development efforts,
and b) local planning, is

	adequate?	inadequate?	too great?
a) efforts	☐	☐	☐
b) planning	☐	☐	☐

(place a tick in appropriate boxes)

Section B. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

8. What do you understand by the term "community development"? (Tswana equivalent - "boipelego") .....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

9. Do you think that community development has an important role to play in the present and future development of Botswana?

Yes/No/Don't know/No opinion *

10. Do you know what are the main aims and objectives of the Department of Community Development?

Yes/No *

if "yes", what do you think they are? (general terms) .....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

11. Do you consider that community development in Botswana is

a) solely the responsibility of the Department of Community Development, *

or b) the concern of all development agencies? *

12. Have you read the paper "Community Development in Botswana" by Mr. Joseph Matsheng, Commissioner of Community Development, dated 23rd January 1968?

Yes/No *

if "yes", what relevance do you think it has for the work of your Ministry/Department/District/Town? .....

.....

.....

.....

.....

13. Which of the following village level activities do you think are the most important for the Department of Community Development to undertake? Please tick up to a maximum of <u>five</u>.

- ☐ local fact-finding
- ☐ village development committees
- ☐ youth activities
- ☐ women's activities
- ☐ self-help projects
- ☐ leadership training
- ☐ other village training courses
- ☐ village co-operatives
- ☐ assisting supplementary feeding
- ☐ adult literacy
- ☐ cottage industries
- ☐ assisting extension programmes of other departments
- ☐ assisting with local tax collection

14. Do you think the Department of Community Development is concentrating on the most suitable fields of activity?

Yes/No/Don't know/No opinion *

<u>if "no"</u>, what changes of emphasis would you like to see?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

15. Are you satisfied that the present organisational structure of community development in Botswana (i.e. a department in the Ministry of Local Government and Lands), within the overall government machinery, is the most suitable for effectively fulfilling its role?

Yes/No/Don't know/No opinion *

<u>if "no"</u>, what organisational changes would you suggest?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

16. To your knowledge, has your Ministry/Department/District/Town been asked to participate in any community development activity?

Yes/No/Don't know *

if "yes", please give one example .....

.....

.....

.....

17. Have you personally at any time been approached by or had discussions with, anyone from the Department of Community Development?

Yes/No *

18. Do you think your staff or councillors would benefit from having a greater knowledge of community development methods and techniques?

Yes/No/Don't know/No opinion *

19. Now that district councils are in operation, do you think it is necessary to establish (gradually) village development committees as well?

Yes/No/Don't know/No opinion *

if "yes", a) in what ways could such committees help the work of your Ministry/Department/District/Town? .....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

b) what other value do you consider they might have? .....

.....

.....

.....

.....

if "no", please give reasons .....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

(overleaf for Question 20 .....)

Section C. STATISTICAL INFORMATION

(To be completed by Permanent Secretaries, Heads of Departments, and Chairmen of Councils only)

20. During the financial year 1968/69 (or the calendar year 1968 in the case of District Councils), what % of your Ministry/Department/District/Town finances are to be spent on the following items? (give approximate figures)

		Budget or Council Estimate %	Development Funds %
i)	general information to the public	___	___
ii)	specific training of members of public (farmers, councillors etc)	___	___
iii)	education and training of staff	___	___

——oooooCCCCCCCCCCCCCooooo——

ALL RESPONDENTS

All replies will be treated confidentially by Mr Wass personally, and it would be helpful if you would put your name in the space below. If however you do not wish your name to be known, please leave the space blank.

.....

APPENDIX XIV

Date	Publication or Event	Associated Features	The African Scene	Botswana
The 1920's				
1922-1925	Phelps-Stokes Reports	a. school and community b. education to relate to local conditions c. responsibility for education not to be limited to Education Departments d. respect for traditional forms of social organisation	a. Africans suspicious of "inferior" education b. "Jeanes" schools established in several countries (eg Kenya, Malawi) c. little impact on educational systems generally	a. education organised on local basis b. orientation of education has literary bias
1925	Memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa			
The 1930's				
1935	Memorandum on the Education of African Communities	a. education not to be restricted to provision of formal schooling b. all sections of government to be concerned with educational policy c. education of adults to go hand in hand with children's education d. education to be seen in terms of a changing environment e. rural areas to be main target f. support of African population essential	a. Africans not convinced b. Jeanes teachers continue village-level community education c. Still little impact on orientation of education	a. orientation of education to local needs accepted by Dumbrell b. experiments in fundamental adult education c. importance of popular demand recognised d. use of several departments in adult education e. distinction between formal education and community education recognised
1935	Conference of Jeanes Teachers, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia			
1939	Despatch on Nutrition in the Colonies	unified concept of social welfare embracing social and economic development		

The 1940's

1939-1945	Second World War	a. Many Africans in armed forces b. appreciation of advantages of Africans being literate	experiments in adult literacy and fundamental education (especially West Africa)	a. use of mass-media for adult education b. use of traditional social organisation (eg. Ngotla)
1943	Memorandum on Mass Education in African Society	a. community education recognised as distinct from (but related to) formal education b. mass literacy the objective c. dependence upon community support for the mass education "movement" d. close link with welfare recognised	a. expansion of the above, often leading to community self-help action b. increasing interest of district administrators	a. mass education initially welcomed, and plans made b. interest of district administrators c. new Director of Education less interested (1946), and no territorial plan decided d. mass education to be left to Welfare Officer e. Welfare Officer (1947) concentrates on British type youth movements and ex-servicemen's rehabilitation
1948	Summer Conference on the Encouragement of Initiative in African Society	a. mass education to be called community development in recognition of community action dimension b. need for both central and local machinery (eg district teams) for implementation c. concept of social welfare narrowed from 1939 interpretation d. role of district administration in community development officially recognised	considerable action, both in field experiments and in creating suitable machinery	a. Secretariat does not consider Despatch worth discussing. Reason = lack of funds b. No change in Welfare Officer's programme which continues pattern till 1959.
1948	Creech Jones Despatch			

The 1950's

1950–1954			a. Departments of CD established, often with Social Welfare attached (eg Ghana, Uganda) b. Rise of District and Village Development Committees (eg Tanzania)	no change in programme
1954	Ashridge Conference on Social Development	attempt at unified concept of social development	community development becomes a sectoral function rather than a method of administration	no effect, programme unchanged
1954	UN (Milburn) Report on CD in UK territories			no effect, programme unchanged
1955	UN's Social Progress through Community Development	compilation of international experience	CD Departments continue to develop: self-help work and social welfare activities prominent	no effect, programme unchanged
1958	Colonial Office Handbook on Community Development	experience in British territories synthesised	a. community development associated with "nation-building" b. growing emphasis on economic contribution	no effect, programme unchanged

The 1960's

1960	Summer Conference on Organisation of Community Development	review of organisational needs: government machinery, selection, training and functions of staff etc		a.emphasis on urban welfare b.influence of South African social work
1961-1963				a."disenchantment with urban welfare" b.recognition of value of popular participation
1963	UN: Community Development and National Development	a.Strategic role of CD in national planning and development is clarified b.importance of integrated development strategy stressed c.participation in national development (modernisation) emphasised	a.more attention to integrated planning and role of public in the process b.CD concepts (self-help; participation; communication) being assimilated into development administration philosophy	1964 Village development programme begins 1965 Welfare Department becomes CD Department 1966 a.Attempts to establish district structures for CD b.Ipelegeng programme spreads community self-help nation-wide 1968 Expansion and formalisation of national CD structures 1970 Integration of CD with Development Administration
1967	UN: Local Participation in Development Planning			
1971	UN: Popular Participation in Development: Recent Trends in CD			

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African Affairs

African Studies

Botswana Daily News

British Journal of Sociology

Community Development Journal

Community Development Newsletter (Department of Community Development, Gaborone). Subsequently entitled Tsa Ipelegeng, then Boipelego Ke Eng?

Human Organisation

Human Relations

International Review of Community Development

Journal of Administration Overseas

Journal of Modern African Studies

Kutlwano (Gaborone)

Oversea Education

LIBRARIES CONSULTED

In Botswana:

Botswana National Archives

In South Africa:

Gubbins Library of Africana, University of the Witwatersrand

In London:

Community Development Clearing House, Institute of Education Library, University of London

Congregational Council for World Mission Library (formerly London Missionary Society)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library

International African Institute

Overseas Development Institute

Royal Commonwealth Society Library

In Oxford:

Institute of Commonwealth Studies

Rhodes House Library

In Edinburgh

University of Edinburgh Library

Educational Studies Library, University of Edinburgh

National Library of Scotland

PRIMARY SOURCES

1 Note on Primary Sources

Very little relevant primary source material was available in the United Kingdom. The most important sources of primary material for this thesis were:

1 Botswana National Archives, Gaborone, where old files relating to Education and Welfare up to the 1950's are kept.

2 Headquarters files of the Department of Community Development, Gaborone. Working files were mostly unavailable on grounds of confidentiality, though files relating to the early 1960's were made available.

3 Official and semi-official papers, memoranda, minutes and notes collected or made by the writer during his employment with the Bechuanaland/Botswana Government 1960-1966, and also collected in 1968.

4 Further information was obtained by means of personal communication with individuals, either in correspondence or verbal discussion.

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